# THE NEAR SIDE OF THE MEXICAN QUESTION

JAY S. STOWELL

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# THE NEAR SIDE OF THE MEXICAN QUESTION

By


## JAY S. STOWELL, M. A.

*Author of* "A STUDY OF MEXICANS AND SPANISH AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES"


**The Mexicans are our neighbors, not merely the people next door.**

**It is our bounden duty to be neighborly and to become intimately acquainted with Mexico's problems—to help solve those problems which become ours if they are not solved.**

**Mr. Stowell's book is a brief yet complete study of the characteristics of the Mexican people—a text book for the understanding of our neighbors to the South.**

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# THE NEAR SIDE OF THE MEXICAN QUESTION

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## CHAPTER I

### THE "BORDER"

An Arizona boy was recently taken by his mother for his first visit to the "Border." He stood at the international line and gazed in every direction. Then in disappointment he turned to his parent and cried, "Why, Mother, I don't see any Border."

The scenery on one side of the line was not particularly different from that on the other; the vegetation was the same; the little adobe huts on the American side looked exactly like those on the Mexican side; and the people were as dark-skinned on one side of the line as on the other. There was a barbed wire fence, to be sure, but it was not labeled, and it was not strikingly different from the thousands of miles of similar fence which crisscross the United States from coast to coast.

No, it was not specially surprising that the boy was disappointed. Our 1,833 miles of Mexican Border have little that is spectacular to offer the visitor. The Rio Grande River which flows between Texas and Mexico is, at certain places and at certain seasons, an imposing stream, but at other points and other seasons it is far

from awe-inspiring. Even when it is too deep to be forded, railroad bridges, foot bridges, licensed ferries, and unlicensed boatmen at out-of-the-way points convert the Rio Grande into the stream that unites Texas with Mexico rather than separates her from Mexico. West of El Paso, however, there is no Rio Grande and the Border stretches for hundreds of miles to San Diego and Tia Juana, marked here and there by concrete posts and intermittent stretches of wire fence, but elsewhere unmarked and often unguarded. The thing which impresses the traveler from Brownsville on the east to San Diego on the west is the same thing which impressed the boy, namely, that there is no Border. For nearly two thousand miles the United States stands joined to Mexico. Legally there may be a place where one nation stops and another begins; an instant when you are in the United States and the next instant in Mexico; but such distinctions are artificial, and so far as our Southwestern Border is concerned they can easily be over-emphasized. Human nature has ever ignored artificial barriers, and human nature on the Border is no exception. Life on the two sides of the Border has blended to a remarkable degree.

American business men reside in the United States and spend most of their waking hours in Mexico; Mexican children sleep in Old Mexico and come into the United States each morning to attend school; American laborers work across the line in Mexico and Mexican laborers do every conceivable sort of work in the United States; Mexican women purchase their groceries in the United States and thousands of American women and men go into Mexico to trade, to see the sights and, until recently, at least, to gamble, to play the races, and to otherwise disport themselves; ministers on Sunday preach the Gos-

pel in the United States in the morning, in Old Mexico in the afternoon, and again in the United States at night; railroad and street car passengers get on trains in the United States and ride down into Mexico, and other passengers get on trains in Mexico and ride across into the United States; Mexican criminals seek haven in the United States, and our criminals flee into Mexico. And thus the list might be indefinitely continued. There are important border towns in the United States which are eighty-five per cent Mexican, and where Spanish is the language of the home, the street and the market-place, and there are Mexican towns across the line where English is practically as current as Spanish.

Added to these intimate and inevitable contacts there is the bond of a large and ever-increasing international trade. In spite of internal turmoil in Mexico this has amounted to a large total in recent years. For the fiscal year 1910 just before the resignation of President Diaz it was $115,000,000. In 1917 the total was $191,000,000; in 1918 $245,000,000; in 1919 $278,000,000; and for 1920 it is reported as over $300,000,000. Some one has pointed out that our sales to the 15,000,000 people of Mexico are more than our sales to the 400,000,000 people of China or the 300,000,000 people of India. We import sisal, petroleum, cotton, hides, copper, chick-peas, coffee, mahogany, india rubber, silver and multitudinous other products. In return we send Mexico quantities of manufactured articles and refined products. Before the war we were supplying about one-half of Mexico's imports. It is said that we are now supplying eighty-five per cent of her imports and taking ninety per cent of her exports. Much of the trade which comes directly across the Border passes through Texas, but for the year ending June 30th,

1919, the total imports and exports for the Arizona District were nearly $38,000,000 and for the Southern California District nearly $20,000,000. Douglas and Nogales, Arizona, and Calexico, California, have, within a few years, become very important ports of entry. The large investments of American capital in Mexico have been an important factor in turning Mexican trade to the United States. Before the war the investment of American capital in Mexico was estimated at over $1,000,000,000. It was recently estimated by United States Senator Fall at $2,000,000,000. The War which shut off other sources of supply from Mexico has perhaps been the chief factor in the recent rapid growth of our trade with Mexico.

Now that the War is over the important question arises whether we are to hold the trade which we acquired by force of circumstances while it was in progress. The attitude of the new government in Mexico toward the United States becomes a matter of immediate concern to many an American business man.

To many the term "Mexico" is but a synonym for "revolution," and it is true that during the last decade there have been several overturns in governmental authority. Even before that period Mexico was not a stranger to wars, internal dissensions, and revolutions. Before the coming of the Spaniards under Cortes in 1519 the story of Mexico was the story of the struggle of one group for supremacy over another. By 1376 the power of the Aztecs was generally recognized, and they were the rulers when Cortes appeared. Cortes had been in Mexico City only a month, however, until he had Montezuma II, the last ruler of the Aztecs and Emperor of Mexico, in jail. History tells us that the reign of Montezuma II was

occupied "with expeditions of conquest, suppression of revolts, erection of temples, and extensive immolations of human victims." From 1519 until 1821 Mexico was under the direct rule of Spain, exercised during the first fifteen years through military governors and then through Viceroys, of whom there were more than sixty. Some of these were good rulers and some were bad, but in general, with the exception of numerous Indian revolts, they kept the people in subjection, and there was considerable progress in education, mining, agriculture, drainage, commerce and similar lines.

On September 16, 1810, there began the struggle for Mexican independence which lasted for more than a decade, and on October 4, 1824, the first constitution of the Republic of Mexico was proclaimed. There followed a half century of internal dissension, during which revolution followed revolution and Mexican affairs were in continual turmoil until the coming of Porfirio Diaz. During this period the independence of Texas was won (1836) and ten years later the war between Mexico and the United States broke out. This resulted in a new and largely modified boundary for Mexico. In 1876 Diaz assumed control of Mexico and the following year he was elected President of the Republic. From 1876 until 1911 Porfirio Diaz was the dominant figure in Mexico. He established a stable government; negotiated foreign treaties; extended educational facilities; established the credit of Mexico; built railroads, harbor facilities, and other public improvements; and did much to regulate the internal affairs of the Republic. In 1911 Francisco Madero overthrew the power of Diaz and was elected President. Revolts at once broke out and guerrilla warfare sprang up. In 1913 Madero was forced out of the Pres-

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idency and four days later was murdered. General Victoriana Huerta assumed control, and his power as provisional President was continued until July 5th, 1914. On August 20th, 1914, Venustiano Carranza made his triumphal entry into Mexico City. He was soon forced out of the City, however. He then set up his government at Puebla and later at Vera Cruz. In one way or another Carranza continued to be the dominant factor in Mexican politics, until the outbreak of the revolution in Sonora, April 10th, 1920. Just thirty days from the outbreak of this revolution Associated Press dispatches told of the flight of President Carranza from the City of Mexico, and on May 22nd press dispatches were telling of the death of Carranza at the hands of his own troops. Adolfo de la Huerta, Governor of the State of Sonora, was made provisional President of the Republic, with General Alvaro Obregon a strong factor in the new government and candidate for the position of President. On September 5th, 1920, General Obregon was elected President.

From such a background, optimism concerning the immediate future of Mexico and of our relations with Mexico can arise either because "hope springs eternal in the human breast" or because there are real reasons for optimism. Probably both factors are at work in the present situation. At any rate there is a surprising amount of optimism along the Border in regard to the future of conditions in Mexico. It chanced that during the entire time that the revolution was in progress I was on the Border and had an opportunity to see the Border phases of it in process. There was little that was spectacular, but there was much that was interesting. Most interesting of all was the conversation of those who were witnessing at short range or were sharing in the revolution in some way. I

was over in Carranza's territory and also over in the revolutionists' territory while the revolution was in progress; I talked with officials of both sides; and I talked with many Americans of many sorts, some of whom had lost heavily through the long continued unsettled conditions in Mexico. Not once did I hear the revolution referred to as "another Mexican revolution" or in any other disparaging terms. There was a disposition everywhere to take the movement seriously and to welcome it as a step toward the establishment of a stable and dependable government in Mexico.

So far as the revolution itself was concerned it was conducted with a minimum of violence and bloodshed. In Sonora the revolution caused little disturbance, owing to the fact that the leader of the revolution was the Governor of the State. There was little or no interruption of business across the border, and a visitor to Nogales or to any of the other Arizona points on the Border would have seen nothing to indicate that a revolution was in progress. In Chihuahua General Emilio Salinas, brother-in-law of Carranza and provisional Governor of the State, was imprisoned, but later allowed to escape upon payment of 12,000 pesos. I met General Salinas a few hours after his escape and traveled with him and his young wife for nearly twenty-four hours. He had formerly been Mexican Consul in New York City.

Perhaps the severest disturbance on the Border occurred at Nuevo Laredo just across from Laredo, Texas, on May 9th. General Reynaldo Garza, the Carranza leader, refused to surrender the town. His garrison consisted of sixty men. The revolutionists attacked him with eighty men. The battle lasted for thirty minutes, during which the residents of Laredo gathered at the bank of the

river just across from Nuevo Laredo. A few aeroplanes added to the picturesqueness of the situation, and several Mexican women provided the finishing touch by calmly sweeping their sidewalks or patios while the fighting was at its height. Other citizens in Nuevo Laredo watched the fighting from their homes. Almost none of them tried to find refuge in the United States as they had done in previous times of disturbance. General Garza fought for a time, and then he and his son jumped into an automobile and started out in a southeastern direction. The machine was soon punctured by bullets, and the fugitives abandoned it and soon after crossed the Rio Grande into the United States, the desired haven of every hard pressed soul in Mexico. During the fight rifles and automatic pistols were the principal weapons used. The attack occurred at 5:50 o'clock Sunday morning and by 7 o'clock a parade of revolutionists, headed by a band and shouting "Viva Obregon," filled the streets. Simultaneously a revolutionist who had taken part in the attack appeared at the river bank and shouted to the Americans across the river: "We have taken the place; come over, boys!" And the bell in the Catholic church at Nuevo Laredo rang out notes of victory. Two hours after the fighting ceased the place was as quiet and orderly as ever. The saloons were kept closed all day, so there was no disturbance from drunkenness. Seven were reported killed by the fighting and seventeen wounded. As soon as the town was captured an acting mayor was appointed, a police force established and the various customs, immigration and post-office positions filled so that the life of the town might proceed unmolested.

At many other places there was no fighting at all and the transfer of authority was made without disturbance of

any sort. I stood on the international line at Brownsville while negotiations were being made for turning over the reins of authority in Matamoras just across. There was some slight attempt to check passage across the line until the status of affairs should have been determined and announced, but Mexican women with groceries and other residents had little difficulty in going and coming.

The orderly conduct of the revolution and the evident desire on the part of the leaders to avoid bloodshed were good omens. There is every reason to believe that the revolutionists were as disappointed and grieved over the sad fate which befell Carranza as were his admirers. Of course it was good politics for them to be so, but it is only fair to believe that their motives were humanitarian rather than political. A prominent leader of the revolution told me while Carranza was still in Mexico City that they would be delighted to have him escape, and that they had already offered him safe conduct out of the country if he would avail himself of it. I had at the time, and still have, no reason to doubt his statement. Whether Carranza underestimated the strength of the revolution, or whether he felt that it was undignified for him to flee from the country, he evidently did not care to avail himself of the opportunity to escape.

More significant, however, than the method of conducting the revolution is the attitude of the present leaders of Mexico toward the United States and toward the important questions concerning which Mexico must adopt very definite policies. It is significant that the revolution started in Sonora, a state which has kept on the most friendly relations with the United States, which for years has kept its borders free from the vice on which other Mexican states have fattened, and which has given diligent

attention to the building up of wholesome commercial relationships with the United States. Nor have the statements made by the leaders of Mexico since the success of the revolution has been assured been disappointing. Everywhere there has been a new note of sincerity, of integrity of purpose, and of determined friendliness toward the United States. Of course any other attitude would only be folly on Mexico's part and a great disadvantage to the United States. That fact, however, does not minimize the significance of Mexico's frank recognition of it. The leaders of Mexico know that they need the friendly co-operation and assistance of the United States. Possibly it would be a good thing for us if we appreciated a little more clearly how much we need the friendship and confidence of Mexico.

Recently (June 19th, 1920) President de la Huerta gave a dinner to a number of American writers in Mexico City. Some of his remarks are worthy of notice.

Speaking of conditions in Mexico, he said: "I think that the economic situation will soon be better, as I have noted a better atmosphere among bankers and business men, although the men in power are the last to know the true conditions. I may be fooled by this feeling, but it would seem that we are on the road to progress."

When questioned concerning the oil situation, he replied: "We will go half way, and I am sure that the American business interests will come the other half."

He then went on to say that he wished to impress upon the American people that Mexico would be more than friendly, and that he personally would not permit politicians for personal interests to provoke friction. He said that it had been the idea of many Mexican

leaders to use fear of the United States as a threat over Mexicans, but that he was determined to use all means in his power to make clear to the United States, by deeds as well as words, that Mexico and the United States should and would be more than friendly.

Since the election of President Obregon he has given voice to some of the ideals and policies which are to dominate his administration. These include an honest government, amnesty for political offenders, punishment of criminals, payment of the national debt, reduction of the army, encouragement of agriculture and business, protection of foreign investments in Mexico, friendship with the United States and other neighbors, development of industry, and other similar items.

Surely those are encouraging sentiments, and we shall get further along the path which leads to properly adjusted relationships with Mexico if, for the present, we accept them at their face value than if we adopt an attitude of suspicion.

In August (1920) General Salvador Alvarado, Minister of Finance for the new government in Mexico, spoke before a group of New York bankers and professional men at the Bankers' Club in New York City. He spoke frankly of the needs of Mexico after a decade of revolution and disorder, but he also spoke encouragingly of the "newly awakened national conscience in Mexico." He said in part:

"The great longing for peace, reorganization, work, and prosperity is equally strong in the banker as in the farmer, the merchant, or the cattle raiser, the skilled worker or the common laborer; all are ready to settle down and work. This enthusiasm, confidence, and optim-

ism are the surest signs that the revolutionary era is over in Mexico, at least so far as the present generation is concerned.

"The new government of Mexico formed mostly of young and progressive men who joined the revolution only because they thought it was their duty to do so, is conscious of the state of mind of the country, as well as of Mexico's duty, if Mexico wants to be considered as a member of the community of civilized nations.

"This government has drafted a vast plan for the reconstruction and reorganization of the country, covering all national activities.

"You may not believe it, but it is nevertheless true that all our trains are running on schedule, that all public services are in normal operation, and our crops this year will be the largest on record. And as to any anti-foreign sentiment, I can assure you that none exists; on the contrary there is probably on the surface of the earth no other people more hospitable and warm-hearted toward foreigners than the Mexicans. I wish to say that before I came to this country I heard also of an intense anti-Mexican feeling prevailing in the United States, but I wish to state that my two visits have completely convinced me that such sentiment does not exist. The same thing is true about Mexico."

To be sure these are only words, but they are reassuring words both because of the sentiments which they express and of the evident sincerity which is back of them. Up to the time of this writing we have had no reason for refusing to take them at their face value.

When the chairman introduced Señor Alvarado at the gathering mentioned above, he referred half humorously to the fact that he was under no embarrassment in entertaining General Alvarado in spite of the fact that the

country had become dry, because the visitor himself had the distinction of being the original prohibitionist of Mexico. He went on to explain that as Governor of Yucatan under Carranza General Alvarado had made that state dry. Yucatan, however, has not been the only dry spot in Mexico, for Sonora at least has been dry, or largely so, for some time. This condition existed under Governor Calles even before de la Huerta became Governor of the State. When Agua Prieta went dry a Chinese evidently did not take the matter seriously. He opened a saloon, but he was in jail before night. A little later saloons at border points were permitted to sell liquor to American visitors. This soon became a nuisance, however, and the saloons of Sonora were tightly closed once more.

Mexico still has a long road to travel before her political and social life can be organized on a genuinely democratic basis. Education must be extended and common ideals inculcated before this can be achieved, but, although no one can foresee what accidents are in store, there is no apparent reason why Mexico should not travel this road with no more than the ordinary misadventures. Although a republic in name, Mexico has really had no experience in self-government until the last ten years, and if she has made a good many mistakes she has also learned a good many lessons which should be of inestimable value in the years ahead. As her neighbor we are profoundly interested both from altruistic and selfish motives in Mexico's welfare.

One of the first matters which confronted the new Mexican government was what to do with Lower California, perhaps the one outstanding area where the revolution did not seem to "take," and a region in which Americans of several sorts had become deeply interested.

While the revolution was still in progress I asked T. R. Beltran, an agent of the revolutionists, "What do you plan to do with Lower California and Governor Cantu?"

He replied, "We will give him a chance to come in, and then if he refuses we shall be obliged to go and compel him to come in."

In line with this policy, the new government very soon sent word to Governor Cantu to come to Mexico City and report. Now for ten years Cantu had not been in the habit of reporting to anybody, and very naturally he did not comply with the demand of the government. For the first time in many years, therefore, an expedition to Lower California was organized; Cantu was ousted from his position of authority; he departed for the United States, and Luis Salazar took control of the "lost state." For ten years the central government of Mexico had been too busy to concern itself with Lower California. During that time Esteban Cantu went on his way unmolested by governmental interference or by revolutionary uprisings. He built up a little private kingdom within a republic, and, naturally, that could not permanently continue. He had a few troubles of his own. At one time considerable dissatisfaction developed among the natives over the important concessions which Cantu granted to foreigners, particularly the Chinese and Japanese. By taking precautions, however, Cantu was able to ward off what seemed like impending trouble, and to continue to do pretty much as he pleased.

Lower California is a mountainous peninsula 750 miles long and from thirty to one hundred and forty miles wide. It forms the most western part of Mexico and comprises an area of 58,343 square miles, or a little more than the area of Wisconsin. It is separated from the rest of Mex-

ico by the Gulf of California, by an almost impassable desert in the western part of Sonora, and by the Colorado River. Much of its area is uninhabited and uninhabitable, but there are some outstanding exceptions along the western coast and the northern border. In 1910 the population was 52,244. It is doubtless considerably larger than that now as the last ten years have witnessed remarkable developments at several points. For some time the capital of Lower California has been located at Ensenada de Todos Santos on the west coast. A fine automobile road runs from here to Tia Juana between the ocean and the mountains, and Tia Juana just across the line from San Diego, California, is connected with San Diego both by trolley and by railroad. Ensenada, Tia Juana, and Mexicali further east, just across from Calexico, California, are the three most important places in Lower California. The interest of Americans is chiefly in the two border points, Tia Juana and Mexicali.

Mexicali on the Mexican side of the line and Calexico on the American side form in reality a single community with a combined population of approximately 16,000, two-thirds of which is on the Mexican side of the line. Of the total population there are perhaps 7,000 Mexicans, 4,000 Chinese (chiefly in Mexicali) and 5,000 of American or mixed stocks. These two towns lie in the heart of the rich Imperial Valley, which has within recent years been transformed by the waters of the Colorado River from one of the most absolute deserts in the world to a veritable garden spot. In 1918 the assessed valuation of the irrigated land in this region was approximately $36,000,000; the same year the value of the farm products was $50,000,000. In 1910 there were only 793 people in

Calexico, and 650 in Mexicali. A very large import and export trade with Mexico has sprung up at this point. In 1918 this totaled $9,521,000, as compared with $7,877,000 for the five other ports of the District of Southern California, including Los Angeles and San Diego.

Cotton is one of the chief products of this section, particularly on the Mexican side, where Chinese, who have been granted important concessions by Governor Cantu, are raising thousands of acres of cotton. Large cotton gins are located at Mexicali. The Chinese who work here have come, many of them, through the United States, and it is a not uncommon sight to see a carload of new recruits, landed at some American port, but destined for Lower California, passing through to Mexico in a locked car with heavily barred windows.

The water which renders productive the land on the Mexican side of the Border is from the same source as that which is used for a similar purpose on the American side. It comes from the Colorado River, but it passes down through a portion of Mexico before it returns to water the Imperial Valley in the United States. This fact has given rise to many conjectures as to what might happen if we were to get into difficulty with Mexico, and has led to extended discussions in Congress concerning the possibility of an "all-American ditch." Those who were watching this project some years ago will remember how the river broke bounds, and for nearly two years poured its water down into the Valley, forming the now famous Salton Sea and threatening to inundate the entire region. President Roosevelt's appeal to Congress for help was unheeded, and the Southern Pacific Railroad, under the direction of Mr. Harriman, finally closed the gap, although it involved running trains of new steel cars

loaded with rocks and dumping them, cars and all, into the break. All of this expense was later charged back against the land in the Valley.

Governor Cantu had, however, other sources of revenue than legitimate business, and he waxed fat under his various revenues, particularly from commercialized vice. A count in Mexicali, while he was in control, showed ten pool rooms, twenty-one saloons, two Chinese gambling houses with lotteries, one bull ring, and a theatre, gambling house, bar and house of prostitution combined. This latter institution, which was owned and operated by three Americans and was directly controlled and managed by one of them, occupied the most conspicuous square in the center of town. It was said to pay $22,000 per month into Governor Cantu's pocket as a license fee and to have had a total overhead expense of $40,000 per month. The 150 American, Negro, and Mexican women housed here paid a monthly license fee said to be $27.50 each, a daily rental of two dollars each, and an inspection fee of two dollars per week. The principal owner of this institution is commonly rated as a millionaire, and one of his reported stock remarks was, "Every man in the Imperial Valley is working for me." During the War this institution took $70,000 worth of Liberty Bonds at one time.

The other great center of vice in Lower California was Tia Juana. Here a race track and multitudinous other institutions attracted regularly thousands of visitors who either liked the excitement of a place where the "lid was off" or who were seeking to earn a living by some questionable method. Transportation was made easy by railroad, bus, and electric car service from San Diego. The whole situation was demoralizing, both locally and nationally.

One of the finest things which the new government in Mexico has done is to clean up the resorts both here and at Mexicali, and to declare its policy of establishing a "dry zone" along the Border. Under the conditions which have been permitted to exist along the Border it was hard for Mexico to develop any feeling of respect for America and Americans, and in the same way Mexico's reputation suffered among Americans because of the unfavorable impression which the Border presented of conditions in Mexico. The entire situation was against the development of those wholesome relations between the two sides of the Border which should exist, if our mutual business, social, and political interests are to be cared for and a firm foundation laid for future prosperity.

The United States has perhaps been equally responsible with Mexico for the unfortunate conditions which have existed at so many points along the Border, for we have many times furnished both the capital and the patronage which has made vice profitable. At any rate, we may all rejoice at what seems like the dawning of a better day with a less murky atmosphere for our Mexican Border. We have a chance here to help Mexico maintain the standards which she has set up. It is significant and not particularly to our credit that, when President de la Huerta tried for the first time to limit the sale of liquor in Mexico City, the American press reported that the Mexicans took the decision without protest, while Americans in the City made vigorous protestations against this interference with their "rights."

So far as the United States is concerned, the Mexican problem is inescapable. It is to our direct advantage to see Mexico prosper in every way. Our relations with her

must be placed upon the sure foundations of morality, integrity, and Christian neighborliness. Everything that makes for the establishment of those conditions we may well encourage. Mexico has passed through some difficult days and, before these words are read, some dissension in her government may threaten her peace, but in spite of misadventures there is every reason to believe that the leaders and the common people of Mexico are tired of turmoil, and that with our help they stand ready to work out an altogether new future for themselves. Whether this be true or not, it is true that the expulsive power of the recent revolutions in Mexico has placed the Mexican in a position to build himself into the future of our own country in quite a new way. Without much ado he has gone at the job, and the indications are that he will "make good" at it.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MEXICAN AT WORK IN THE UNITED STATES

THE emigration of Mexicans to the United States began something over three hundred years ago. There is no record that the stream has ever stopped, but it is only within the last decade that the tiny rivulet has swelled to proportions sufficient to attract attention. Since 1911, however, every overturn of the political craft in Mexico has been followed by the eager scramble of a certain proportion of the survivors to find refuge in the United States. Some of these newcomers have been political refugees who have suddenly discovered that the climate of the United States was far more healthful and salubrious than the climate of Mexico, but multitudes of others have been simple Mexican peons, who, for one reason or another, have found life intolerable in Old Mexico, and have been attracted by the superior economic and educational opportunities which the United States seemed to offer.

The wealthier refugees have settled in many centers from Los Angeles, El Paso, San Antonio, Laredo and other Border towns to New York and other eastern cities. The poor Mexican has for lack of means usually been forced to make his first stand at some point close to the Border. Later, as opportunities have offered, he has found his way to more distant regions.

We already had a large Spanish-speaking element with Mexican affiliations and of Mexican extraction in our

country, particularly in the Southwest. Although the traditions and environment of Spanish-Americans and Mexicans are quite different in many respects, yet in others they are almost identical. The mere fact that they speak a common language helps to blend the two elements into one common group. Just how large this group is, it is not easy to state. It is frankly admitted by immigration officials that many of these newcomers have entered the United States over unauthorized paths, and no record has, therefore, been kept of them. The limited appropriations for the Immigration Bureau have made an adequate Border patrol impossible. Possibly the zeal of officials has also been dampened by the fact that farmers and ranchers in the Border states have been very glad to welcome Mexican laborers regardless of the path by which they may have arrived. Once in the United States they form a constantly shifting group very difficult to enumerate, and totals are further complicated by the fact that thousands of Spanish-Americans are, for census purposes, "Americans of American parentage." In view of the fact that the Mexican is legally a "white" man, his totals do not apppear in any race grouping based on the color of the skin.

The best estimate available at the present writing indicates that there are approximately 1,500,000 Mexicans and Spanish-Americans in the United States at present. Texas has the largest group of any of the states, and recent estimates indicate that her total population of Mexicans and Spanish-Americans approximates 450,000. The Secretary of State's office in New Mexico estimates that the state is at least sixty per cent Spanish-American. This would give a total for New Mexico of approximately

220,000 Spanish-Americans. A man who has studied the situation in Arizona for years says that there are more than 100,000 in Arizona, and the Spanish-speaking population of California has recently been estimated as approaching 250,000. Whatever the exact numbers may be, their name is "legion," and they are to be found not only in our Border states but by thousands in Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, Kansas, Oklahoma, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan, New York, New England and in many other states both east and west. The largest single colony in the United States is perhaps at San Antonio, Texas, which is said to have a Mexican population of 50,000. El Paso, Texas, is reported fifty-five per cent Mexican, and Los Angeles, California, has a Mexican population of 30,000.

During the War the shortage of common labor in the Southwest led to the admission under special permit of otherwise inadmissible aliens. Since the war this custom has been continued, and three clauses of the immigration law have for the purpose been suspended, namely, the literacy test, the head tax, and the contract labor clauses. Under this special provision thousands of Mexican laborers have been admitted to the United States. A very careful record with a photograph of each immigrant thus admitted is kept and the employer becomes responsible for the return of the immigrant. In case there is trouble, deportation may take place at the employer's expense. Owing to the admission of these laborers, vast areas of irrigated land which would otherwise have remained untilled have been producing bountiful crops.

Mexicans in the United States have distinguished themselves in a number of fields of labor. Thus on the railroads of our country they have made a large place for

themselves not only in the Southwest, but from the Pacific Coast through to our eastern states. On January 13th, 1920, the Santa Fe Railroad reported as employed on its Western Lines in the states of Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma 6,077 Mexicans. A large proportion of these men were employed on track work, but some were engaged in cleaning cinder pits, wiping engines, cleaning cars, icing cars, loading stock and similar occupations. Others were reported working as machinists and boilermakers, and engaged in similar occupations in the mechanical department. At about the same time there were reported on the Eastern Lines of the same railroad approximately 4,200 Mexicans. About ten per cent of this number were employed in the mechanical department in shops and roundhouses and the remainder principally on track work. This division covers part of Kansas and Oklahoma as well as Missouri and Illinois. On the Coast Lines of the Santa Fe there were employed about 4,000 Mexicans. Thus on this one railroad something over 14,000 Mexicans were employed. The manager of the Western Lines says of their record as laborers, "While not as energetic or competent as white men, they are as a rule satisfactory for track work and other work of that nature, and probably more so than other alien labor which can be secured for this purpose."

On the Pennsylvania railroad Mexicans have been employed in limited numbers at various points between New York and Pittsburgh and Buffalo. The General Manager of the Eastern Lines of this railroad says of their work, "As a class they were among the best track laborers of any foreign nationality." Numerous other railroads, particularly in the West and the Southwest, are largely dependent upon Mexican labor.

In the growing of sugar beets the Mexican has become next to indispensable. The new and rapidly developing beet sugar industry of the United States could never have made the enormous strides which it has made in recent years had it not been for Mexican assistance. You may travel from the far western beet fields of Southern California to the northern areas of Idaho or the eastern beet sections of Michigan and everywhere you will find Mexicans working patiently and efficiently in the beet fields, driving the heavy wagons loaded with beets and assisting about the beet sugar factories. It was largely to increase the production of sugar beets that the special arrangement for the admission of contract labor from Mexico was made. The raising of sugar beets is of course a seasonal occupation, and the introduction of Mexican labor into the beet fields has brought with it some of the problems which come with seasonal employment. A newspaper item dated October 27, 1919, at Pocatello, Idaho, tells of the difficulty which Idaho faces with several thousand Mexicans on hand and nothing for them to do after the beet season is over, and then quotes the local federal immigration inspector as follows:

"I'll be hanged if I know what to think of it, or what to do about it. We need these Mexican laborers at certain seasons of the year to do work that American laborers will not do. They are needed and needed badly to cultivate the beets and to harvest them. They were brought here under a special agreement with the labor department in 1918 to save the sugar beet crop. It was agreed that they were to have the same wages paid to other laborers, and this looked big to them. But their work only lasts a few weeks in the early summer and another few weeks in the late fall. They begin weeding beets in the latter

part of May or June 1st, and when beet harvest comes on they have worked up to about the middle of November. What are they to do between these periods? They cannot earn enough to live a year on these few weeks' work."

Similar situations exist in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Iowa, Nebraska, and other states, but that does not change the fact that the Mexican has made a large place for himself in the sugar beet industry which is to-day supplying millions of pounds of sugar for domestic consumption in the United States.

In Southern California the Mexican does not, however, confine his activities to the sugar beet industry. He may be seen working in the orange orchards, helping in the large groves of English walnut trees, or dominating the lima bean enterprise of the immense "lima bean empire" of that rich state. In fact, there is hardly a fruit or a vegetable of any sort in California in the production or distribution of which the Mexican is not having a part. Around Los Angeles and other centers Mexicans have recently been employed in the raising of flowers for the floral trade, and it has been discovered that they are exceptionally well adapted to this fine art.

In this connection a prominent florist of California says:

"Mexicans are coming to be the finest florists that we can secure. The Japanese and Belgians, both specifically trained in their countries to do this work, are not as good as the Mexicans. Several nurseries and florists, that I know of, are turning off their Japanese and other employees and are taking on Mexicans."

In many states of the West, such as Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado and the states farther north,

Mexican cowboys care for uncounted thousands of cattle; and Mexican herders tend multitudes of sheep. The loneliness of this latter occupation has few terrors for the Mexican, and he will uncomplainingly take his sheep out into the wilderness and care for them alone when other workmen will refuse to undertake the task. Thus the Mexican is having a large part in the production of the wool for our clothing, the leather for our shoes and the beef for the nourishment of our bodies.

At mining the Mexican is particularly skillful. An American who has for many years been mining with Mexicans describes them as "natural miners." In coal, copper, gold, silver, and many other sorts of mining projects in the West and Southwest the Mexican is playing an important part.

Possibly no single state has profited so generously from Mexican labor as has Texas. This state is now at the very head of the procession of agricultural states, and the thing which has made this rapid advance possible has been Mexican labor. In 1919 Texas ranked third among the states in the production of corn, with 202,800,000 bushels to her credit. At the same time Texas produced 2,700,000 bales of cotton, or more than one-fifth of the total national crop. And Texas realizes her indebtedness to the Mexican. John B. Carrington, Secretary of the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, is quoted by Gerald B. Breitigam as saying in this connection:

"We couldn't do it if we didn't have the labor. Yes, sir, we are dependent upon the Mexican farm labor supply and we know it. Mexican farm labor is rapidly proving the making of this state."

In many places in Texas the Mexican has entirely dis-

placed the Negro or made his services unnecessary, and his activities in agriculture are not limited to any one crop. Recently a town in Southern Texas announced that for the 1920 season it had already shipped 1,058 carloads of Bermuda onions, and the season was only partly over. Practically all of these onions were produced by Mexican labor. In a similar way the Mexican shared in the production of Texas' many other crops. Surely these facts are of national significance at a time when foodstuffs are well-nigh prohibitive in price.

Possibly one of the most interesting projects dependent upon Mexican labor in the United States is to be found in the Salt River Valley of Arizona. A few years ago this valley was as utter and absolute a desert as could be found in any part of the United States; to-day there are few places more productive. The backbone of this project is the Roosevelt Dam and the water for irrigation which it supplies. This dam, begun September 20, 1906, and completed February 5, 1911, is 284 feet high. It not only supplies the water which is fed out to the thirsty land in the valley through some 800 miles of main canals, but it also is the means of creating thousands of horsepower of electric current. This current is used, among other things, to pump still more water from wells in the valley, so that altogether there are 300,000 acres of irrigated land in the valley. It is predicted that by 1921 this area will be increased to 400,000 acres. On these acres many crops are grown, including alfalfa, cotton, barley, corn, wheat, oats, sorghum, cantaloupes, oranges, grapefruit, olives, apricots, peaches, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, lettuce, beans, and small fruit. For some years cotton has been the largest single crop. In 1917 16,200 bales were raised, in 1918 there were 34,000 bales and in 1919

60,000 bales. In 1919 more than 90,000 acres of land were devoted to the raising of cotton here; in 1920 this acreage had increased to nearly 150,000 acres, and the yield will be proportionately enlarged. The cotton grown here is known as "Pima" cotton. It is a sport developed from Egyptian cotton introduced by the United States government for experimental purposes. The fiber is unusually long and fine, with the result that this cotton is eagerly sought after for making the fabric of automobile tires, aeroplane and balloon materials, and mercerized goods. Automobile tire concerns have already invested millions of dollars in the growing of cotton in this Valley. In February, 1920, this cotton sold as high as 97½ cents per pound. The cotton crop for the season 1919-1920 was valued at $20,000,000 and the total products for the valley at $45,000,000. The other shipments included 200 carloads of lettuce, 1,900 carloads of cantaloupes and many other things.

The significant fact for our present purposes, however, is that millions of dollars of invested capital are here dependent for their productiveness upon Mexican labor. Added to the Spanish-speaking laborers already available, thousands of contract laborers have been shipped into this region. During the winter of 1919-1920 4,000 of these workers were retained throughout the winter, lest the same conditions of return might not be permitted during the spring of 1920. It developed that the special plan for admitting laborers was continued, but there was work on roads and construction projects sufficient during the winter to keep the thousands who were retained busy, so there was no loss. In fact, it was felt that it would be worth while to feed these Mexicans during the winter at the expense of the growers rather than to run the risk

of losing their assistance the following year, for as one grower employing forty-five families of Mexicans said, "We would go bankrupt at once without the Mexicans."

The list of occupations in which Mexicans are to be found in increasing numbers is almost limitless. There are Mexican storekeepers, laundrymen, barbers, clerks, chauffeurs, printers, streetsweepers, newsvenders, boot-blacks, window-cleaners, gardeners, cobblers, expressmen, meat-cutters, scrub-women, factory workers, ranchers, teamsters, carpenters, plumbers, and many others. Nor does this complete the list. One of the leading, if not the leading surgeon in a large Southwestern city is a Mexican Indian. A recent Governor of a Southwestern state is a Mexican by birth and an American by adoption. There are Mexican or Mex-American judges, state legislators, lawyers, ministers, social workers, court reporters and teachers. It is perhaps fair to say that there is not an individual in the United States who is not directly or indirectly indebted to the Mexicans who have crossed the Border and who are at work in the United States. Surely every one of us would feel the pinch of it if the Mexican should by some mysterious process be suddenly removed from our midst. Proceeding humbly, quietly, and unheralded, he has made himself indispensable to our welfare.

And these Mexicans who do so many different things for us are as a class good workers. One man who had been employing Mexican labor on a large scale for twenty-seven years said in reply to a question relative to his opinion of Mexican labor, "If any one tries to tell you that the Mexican is not a good worker, you may tell him for me that he does not know what he is talking about." Another man employing a large number of Mexicans in

the raising of cotton was asked what he thought of Mexican labor and why he did not endeavor to get Negro help. He replied, "The Mexican is a good, faithful worker, always quiet and orderly, and we would not for a moment think of exchanging him for Negro help." Similar testimony comes from many different sources.

The Mexican who comes across the international line to work in the United States does not, however, come alone. He brings his wife and family with him. This is true Mexican custom, for the Mexican has been accustomed to take his women folks along to provide food, even when he has been serving in the army. It is quite different from the custom of immigrants from many other countries. Possibly the nearness of Mexico to the United States and the ease with which the journey across the line can be made have something to do with the matter. On a recent visit to an immigration office on the Border, a card picked at random from the files showed that the Mexican whose record it contained had brought with him a wife and nine children into the United States. This instance is more or less typical, for the Mexican families are large. A group of Mexican laborers, therefore, means at once a new Mexican settlement in the United States or an old one enlarged, and since an overwhelming proportion of the Mexicans who come into the country are very poor various social problems are more or less inevitable in every Mexican colony.

When the average Mexican immigrant arrives he brings little or nothing with him except the clothes on his back, yet what he brings represents his entire earthly possessions. He finds himself a stranger in a strange land, the language of which he does not understand. Of course the fact that many of his fellow-countrymen have pre-

ceded him helps him at this point as at others. He moves into the cheapest shack which he can find, or he shares the already overcrowded space allotted to a previously arriving immigrant. One case of this kind which came to the writer's attention recently was that of a family of eleven living in one room, the use of which was donated free by a poor Mexican woman whose heart was touched by the need of a fellow-Mexican. Even when a place of abode is found the difficulties of the newcomer are not ended. Unless he is a contract laborer brought in by an employer who immediately needs his services, he must at once find employment in order to supply the necessities of life to himself and his family. If he is in the city, he may go to an employment office conducted by some church or other social agency, and there be told of a place where help is needed. He takes the address and starts out, but his timidity, his ignorance of the English language, and his general inexperience make it impossible for him to find the place toward which he is supposed to be bound. This circumstance happens often enough to make it a real problem for volunteer employment agencies which are endeavoring to be of service to the Mexican immigrant. Thus in many ways the path of the newly-arrived Mexican in the United States is far from a rosy one. If perchance the situation is complicated by sickness in the family or of the bread-winner himself, the entire family is at once reduced to desperate straits.

The houses which the Mexican finds available for his occupancy when he arrives are for the most part small adobe huts or wooden shacks. Now, it must not be thought that adobe in itself is necessarily an inferior building material for use in a dry climate, for some of the best buildings in the Southwest are of adobe construc-

tion, but a one-room adobe hut with a dirt floor is a no more suitable place for establishing a home than is a wooden shack under the same conditions. When the number of rooms is increased to two, or three, or four, the situation is of course by that much improved. Tens of thousands of these little homes occupied by Mexicans and Spanish-Americans may be seen scattered throughout the Southwest. In the cities the situation is often not materially different, except that congestion tends to be increased both as to the houses themselves and as to the number of individuals living in a particular house. Here the house court, the remodeled residence, and the shack rented at exorbitant rentals abound. A recent study of the housing situation among Mexicans in Los Angeles showed that one per cent of the families lived in one-room houses, two per cent in two-room houses, twenty-four per cent in three-room houses, thirty per cent in four-room houses, and twenty per cent in five-room houses. This condition represented an improvement over the situation revealed by a survey in 1912 when eighteen per cent of the people were reported as living in one-room houses and sixty per cent in two-room houses. In spite of improvement, housing conditions in the Mexican quarter of Los Angeles are very bad and they are perhaps fairly typical of conditions to be found in other congested city centers where Mexicans are dwelling. In Los Angeles twenty-eight per cent of the habitations studied had no sinks, thirty-two per cent had no lavatories in the houses, and seventy-nine per cent had no baths. Of these houses only five per cent were classed by the Housing Commission as good; more than half were rated as poor or very bad. In spite of unsatisfactory conditions, rents have been rap-

idly advanced until the housing problem has become a serious one for the Mexican in more aspects than one.

The food of the Mexican is on the same unsatisfactory level as are his housing conditions. Often this is due to dire poverty; possibly more often to ignorance concerning the simplest facts related to an adequate diet. Everywhere throughout the Southwest the Mexican is a steady and consistent consumer of beans. Beans form the staple article of diet, and, under unfortunate conditions, the only article. Under better conditions the beans are supplemented by tortillas, coffee, chili, and meat when it can be secured. Owing to the warm climate, flies and other unsanitary conditions, even this is not always wholesome. Unfortunately the Mexican in the United States appears to consume very few dairy products. He uses very little milk, no butter, and only a small amount of cheese. There is reason to believe that much of the sickness among the Mexicans and the apparent lack of energy at times is due to insufficient nourishment. Social workers tell of sick babies covered with sores made well in a short space of time merely by changing the diet from beans to milk, and boarding-school superintendents tell of remarkable physical transformations on the part of pupils with an accompanying rebirth of animal spirits merely by the change from the home food to the more adequate diet of the school dining-room. One of the outstanding needs of the Mexican in the Southwest is some definite instruction in food values and some training in the preparation of foodstuffs. To some extent the schools are beginning to render a real ministry at this point among the boys and girls, but as yet only a beginning has been made. As to the matter of actual relief some social centers already give

out milk daily to children and to tuberculosis sufferers and others.

Naturally the entire question of health is closely bound up with that of food and housing. It is not to be expected that, with unsatisfactory and unsanitary houses and with poor and inadequate food, the health of Mexicans will be of the best. As a matter of fact, disease is prevalent and the death rate is high. Thus in Los Angeles it was discovered that while the rate of infant mortality for the City as a whole was 54 to 1,000, the rate for Mexican babies was 152 to 1,000. In other words, a Mexican baby born in Los Angeles has just one-third the chance to survive as has the average baby for the entire city. Of the total deaths for the City of Los Angeles for the year 1918-1919 11.1 per cent were deaths of Mexicans, although the Mexican population of the city was only five per cent of the total population. Tuberculosis is one of the prevalent diseases, and a tuberculosis map of Los Angeles coincides in important details to a map showing the Mexican residence section of the city. The causes given for these unsatisfactory health conditions are the low wage, poor and insufficient food, overcrowding and lack of ventilation, lack of facilities for cleanliness, ignorance in regard to personal hygiene, and the prevalence of flies. In other sections of the Southwest social diseases are prevalent and much suffering is caused by them.

The entire question of wages has a large bearing upon living conditions. The Los Angeles study showed that seventy-two per cent of all the Mexicans employed in the city were working as laborers; fourteen per cent were listed as skilled workers; seven per cent as in the professions; and five per cent were reported as unemployed. Before the war daily wages were as low as $1.60. More

recent studies show the average wage of the Mexican laborer in Los Angeles as $3.45 per day. Inquiries in different parts of the Southwest would seem to indicate that daily wages for laborers varied from approximately $2.50 to $4.00. Sheep herders are paid in certain sections from $90 to $110 per month and other ranch labor is secured for less than that amount. In the mild climate of many parts of the Southwest wages go farther than they would in a more rigorous climate, but it should also be remembered that employment is by no means constant, and that often the earnings of a few weeks must be made to stretch over much longer periods or else seasons of want soon follow those of plenty for the Mexican household. The fact that so many of the Mexicans in the United States are poor does not by any means necessarily imply that they are by nature improvident. It often simply registers an income inadequate to cover the needs of a large and growing family. Some means of giving more constant employment to seasonal labor must be worked out before the Mexican will have a fair economic chance at life. In spite of untoward conditions, however, our entire Southwest is dotted with little homes of many sorts, purchased, paid for and owned by Mexicans and Spanish-Americans.

For the most part there has been little organized discontent on the part of Mexican laborers in the United States, although agitators and propagandists of many sorts have been at work among them. It was recently reported that the I. W. W. headquarters in Chicago had three Mexican and Spanish editors busily engaged in preparing and sending out inflammatory literature to the Southwest and into other important Spanish-speaking centers. The very ignorance of the Mexican furnishes

a fertile field for this sort of propaganda, and it is hard to tell what may come of it unless it is counteracted by just and sympathetic treatment, by persistent education, and by an intelligent effort to alleviate unsatisfactory conditions.

For those who have been accustomed to think of the Mexican as somewhat of a bandit or brigand it is not altogether easy to picture him as a timid, quiet, peaceable, polite, and kindly person who will go out of his way to avoid trouble, yet the latter picture is perhaps more accurate than the former so far as the Mexican in the United States is concerned. When trouble does come the Mexican sometimes takes matters into his own hand and inflicts such retribution upon his enemy as he sees fit. This is not particularly surprising when we remember that he has for years been living in a land where orderly processes of law have been far from thoroughly established. Even such conflicts, however, are usually of Mexican with Mexican rather than of Mexican with American. So far as we have the facts, there is every reason to believe that as a peaceful, law-abiding member of the community the Mexican ranks well with the native-born American. Thus in the City of Los Angeles in the year 1919 the percentage of Mexican arrests to the total number of arrests for the entire city was 5.5 per cent in a population which is five per cent Mexican. It is evident that the ratios here were not appreciably different. Of the total arrests 34.9 per cent were for drunkenness. Of the 962 cases of drunkenness, 780 occcurred before July 1st when war-time prohibition went into effect; during June of that year 142 Mexicans were arrested for drunkenness and during July only nineteen. Other offenses charged against Mexicans were violation of traffic regu-

lations, vagrancy, petty larceny, disturbing the peace, and burglary. These were the most numerous violations charged.

On the other hand, twenty-three per cent of all applicants for relief at the County Charities in Los Angeles were Mexicans. Thus one-twentieth of the people furnished practically one-fourth of the charity cases. The causes making for poverty in these cases were reported in order of importance as follows: Acute illness, chronic physical disability, death of bread winner, old age, tuberculosis, desertion, insufficient employment, death in family, non-support, maternity, intemperance, imprisonment, insanity, accident (general), unable to locate, industrial incompetency, blindness, poorly paid employment, feeble minded, accident (industrial). The earnings of men in this poverty group ran as low as $1.25 per day. The Mexican in poverty is more the victim of accident and unfortunate circumstances than of intentional error. Added to that he is at the mercy of every unscrupulous exploiter from the rent gouger and the profiteer in foodstuffs and other necessities of life to the seller of enlarged photographs and useless bric-a-brac. Nothing but the diligent neighborliness of Americans in the communities in which he lives will protect the Mexican from the multitude of enemies and carefully-laid snares which beset his path as he endeavors to establish himself in the new land to which he has come and in whose interests he is laboring so diligently.

# CHAPTER III

## SPANISH-AMERICANS IN NEW MEXICO

New Mexico, one of our youngest states, is probably more thoroughly dominated by a non-Anglo-Saxon, non-English-speaking citizenry than any other state in the Union. The circumstances which have brought this unique distinction to the state are deeply imbedded in the events of the past, and it is not easy to understand the present situation in this large and increasingly important commmonwealth unless we pause to consider something of its history.

When Cortes and his followers were conquering Mexico as early as 1519 they kept hearing from the natives of a "fair land" to the north, but for the moment their attention was confined to the conquest of that part of "New Spain" which was more distinctly tributary to the present Mexico City. In the year 1527 Panfilo de Narvaez, the Spanish soldier and conquistador, was given a grant authorizing him to explore and to govern all that part of New Spain which extended from Florida westward through all of the territory occupied by our present Gulf States and on to and including the present state of New Mexico, Texas and the northern part of Mexico. This Narvaez expedition started from Spain June 17, 1527. It landed on the coast of Florida and started westward. Misled by Indian guides, entangled in the swamps, suffering from hunger and deprivation, attacked by hostile

natives, and finally shipwrecked on hastily constructed boats, the expedition collapsed and Narvaez himself died before New Mexico was reached. Nine years after this expedition started from Spain a few survivors made their way down through Texas and Mexico to Mexico City, where they arrived July 24, 1536. Three years later (1539) friar Marcus de Niza, an Italian missionary who had become a Franciscan monk and had entered the service of Spain, left the City of Mexico to explore the country now included in Arizona and New Mexico. He had with him a Negro, one of the survivors of the ill-fated Narvaez expedition. (Some historians say that survivors of this expedition entered New Mexico under the leadership of De Vaca after the death of Narvaez. Others insist even more strongly that there is no evidence to indicate that any of the Narvaez party reached as far west and north as New Mexico.) It is said that Marcos sent the Negro ahead of him with the instruction that if he discovered a mean thing he was to send a white cross one handful long, if a greater thing a white cross two handfuls long, and if a very great thing a large cross. The story goes on to relate that the Negro kept the natives busy carrying crosses taller than a man back to Marcos. The party reached at least as far as the pueblos of the Zuni Indians. The Negro, however, adopted high-handed methods in dealing with the natives, and he was at last killed by them for appropriating property and women not his own. Friar Marcos returned home with glowing accounts of the country and the things which he had seen.

The following year (1540) Francisco Vasquez Coronado was appointed Governor of the Province of "New Galicia," and he organized an expedition for the conquest of the "Seven Cities of Cibola," which friar Marcos

claimed to have discovered. A large force of mounted men, infantry, and natives, well-armed and well-supplied with food, set out for the north. When Coronado reached the Zuni country he sent expeditions both east and west to explore the country. The western expedition went as far as the Grand Canyon and the eastern expedition explored parts of New Mexico. The Zunis were rather anxious to get rid of Coronado so they told him wonderful stories of a rich land farther on toward the east. They gladly furnished a guide and Coronado departed. The country got more and more barren as they progressed, and after long and weary wanderings they hanged their guide, who had at last confessed his deception. The party returned to the Rio Grande ~~River~~ and later to Mexico. Coronado was permitted to resign his position as Governor of New Galicia, for as a ruler he had not proved particularly successful. As an explorer, however, he had covered a great amount of territory from the Grand Canyon on the west to Kansas and Indian Territory on the east, and north as far as the present state of Colorado. Concerning all this territory he brought back much interesting information.

Other Spanish explorers entered the territory, but it was not until the coming of Don Juan de Onate with 700 men and 130 families that a settlement was established. This settlement was made September 5th, 1598, at Chamita. Chamita was abandoned in 1605 and the settlement moved to Santa Fe. The Spaniards succeeded in conquering and enslaving the Pueblo Indians who occupied the country, and with their assistance they developed the mining, agricultural, grazing and other interests of the region for more than three-quarters of a century. In 1680, however, the Indians revolted. They burned ranch

houses, destroyed other property and finally besieged the Spanish Governor in the old Governor's Palace at Santa Fe. On August 21st the Governor was forced to retreat and move southward. In October of the same year (1680) he reached El Paso with a company of 1,946 individuals, which included 300 friendly Indians. During this rebellion 401 persons, including 78 soldiers and 20 priests, were killed.

For the next twelve years (1680-1692) the Pueblos again controlled Santa Fe and they did their best to wipe out all traces of the Spanish domination. Spanish records were burned, Spanish mines were obliterated, the Spanish language was prohibited, and even the use of seeds introduced by the Spaniards was no longer permitted. This continued until 1692, when De Vargas was appointed Governor of the "lost province." With an army of 300 Spaniards and 100 Indians he overran the territory and in 1693 established himself in Santa Fe. Three years later there was another Indian outbreak, but this was soon put down by De Vargas. From the time of De Vargas until the year 1800 twenty-four Spanish governors ruled in the old Governor's Palace in Santa Fe.

Up until the beginning of the nineteenth century there had been no approach of Americans from the East into New Mexico. In 1804 an American peddler entered New Mexico, sold his wares at fabulous prices, and decided that he would remain in the country without bothering to render an account to his employer back east. The following year (1805) a hunter, trapper, and trader, named James Purseley became lost in the Rocky Mountains and wandered down into New Mexico. The following year Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike entered the San Luis Valley by mistake and built a fort.

He was arrested and taken to Santa Fe and later to Mexico.

In 1812 merchants from St. Louis blazed the now famous Santa Fe Trail, although this was not permanently opened until 1822. From this time trade rapidly increased and caravans of one sort or another were continually going and coming. By the year 1843 these caravans were very large, and single caravans which included 350 men and 230 wagons and carried nearly half a million dollars worth of goods at first cost were known.

In the year 1826 Kit Carson accompanied a party of hunters to Santa Fe and from that time until the time of his death in 1868, New Mexico was the center of many of his most interesting exploits.

From 1821 on, New Mexico was no longer under Spanish control. At that time she became a province of Mexico practically without bloodshed or disorder of any sort, and thus she remained until 1846 when General S. W. Kearney, marching westward from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, occupied Santa Fe, and on August 22nd raised the American flag over the plaza and declared New Mexico a part of the United States. Not a shot was fired or a drop of blood spilled. By the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo completed with Mexico February 2, 1848, at the close of the Mexican War this territory was ceded to the United States. A territorial government was soon set up, and in 1863 Arizona, which had originally formed a part of New Mexico, was set off as a separate Territory. In 1912 President Taft issued the formal declaration of statehood and New Mexico became a regularly recognized state of the United States of America. During the sixty years from 1851 to 1911

twenty-four different territorial governors served New Mexico.

The present state of New Mexico is almost square, extending approximately 350 miles east and west and the same distance north and south. Its area is 122,634 square miles, or 98 times the size of Rhode Island and larger than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The altitude of the state varies from 13,360 feet to 2,876 feet, with an average altitude of more than one mile. There is an average of 214 clear days and 99 partly cloudy days each year. The resulting climate is mild, dry, and invigorating, although it varies greatly with the altitude. Many of the residents of the state have come as health-seekers attracted by the climate. The Rio Grande River flows for five hundred miles across the state from north to south.

In 1910 New Mexico ranked forty-fourth in population among the states. Her population in 1850 was 61,547; by 1860 it had increased to 93,516; in 1870 it was 91,874; in 1880, 119,565; in 1890, 160,282; in 1900, 195,310; in 1910, 327,301; and in 1914 the estimated population for the state was 383,551. In 1910 the density of population was 2.7 persons per square mile, as compared with 31 for the entire area of the United States. Of the total population in 1910, 280,730 were classed as rural and 46,571 as urban. Albuquerque was the only place in the state of 8,000 or over; its population was 10,020. The native white population was 281,940; the foreign-born white was 22,654. Of this latter group more than one-half came from Mexico, and of the native white group possibly sixty per cent were of Spanish and Mexican stock. There were 20,573 Indians in the state, and these were almost all Pueblo Indians. There were

only 1,594 negroes in the state. So far as population is concerned the entire state was and is predominantly of Mexican or Spanish ancestry.

For many years the development of New Mexico was held back by lack of railroads. In 1878, however, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad entered the state, and by February 15, 1880, it had been completed through to Santa Fe. There was considerable excitement over the building of part of this road, as the last 360 miles were built in 260 days in order to save the charter of the road. Soon after the road was completed through to El Paso. Later came the Denver and Rio Grande, the Southern Pacific and other roads. There are now nearly four thousand miles of main track in the state. Transportation facilities are, therefore, relatively good.

Another circumstance which delayed the development of New Mexico was the difficulty of getting a clear title to land. It was the custom of the early Spanish sovereigns to issue grants of territory to explorers and settlers. These grants often covered large areas. Later the land was parceled out on certain terms to loyal followers. When the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was made with Mexico in 1848 it contained a provision forever guaranteeing the validity of these original grants. Naturally this left matters in a very complex state and for a long time it was very difficult to get a clear title to any land which had been included in these early grants. For years Congress delayed action in this matter, but at last the Court of Private Claims was established and most of the questions of titles have now been settled and an individual can purchase land in New Mexico with as much legal security to the title as in other states.

So far as agriculture is concerned over eleven million

acres of land in New Mexico were laid out in farms in 1910, and the area has been steadily increasing since that time. An overwhelming proportion of this land is farmed by Spanish-speaking farmers. About one-third of these farms were irrigated farms. The climate of New Mexico differs so much in different parts and at different altitudes that in many places good crops can be raised without irrigation. The amount of irrigated land is, however, steadily increasing. On these farms millions of dollars worth of farm products are grown every year. These products include corn, wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, hay, beans, yams, apples, peaches, pears, plums, prunes, sugar cane, berries of many sorts, and other small fruits and vegetables. The mild climate and vast grassy plains of New Mexico make unusually favorable conditions for the raising of stock, and millions of sheep and cattle roam over her hills and valleys and supply yearly millions of pounds of wool and other animal products for our consumption. There is some lumbering in the state and a great deal of mining, particularly of coal and copper and of many other metals on a larger or smaller scale.

As a land of romantic and archæological interest, however, New Mexico stands perhaps unexcelled. Here Indian pueblos of traditional age and Mexican plazas of charming simplicity blend into the already beautiful landscape in a way to charm the eye of the artist. The thousands of little adobe houses scattered over hillside and valley, sometimes many miles from the beaten path of civilization, seem to form as integral a part of the ever-pleasing vista as do the bushes by the way, the projecting rocks, or the tumbling streams. Everything seems to "belong." One has only to visit New Mexico to feel that he is in an ancient land, a land of mystery, and a

land with an untold past which must be full of interest. When the Spaniards arrived they found a very old civilization, how old no one knows. Some say the past of New Mexico goes back at least to 600 A. D. Very old indeed it is, and the very isolation of the life has tended to preserve its oldness. Some have called the state the "Holy Land" of America, for here as nowhere else in America can be seen the customs of the orient. Here the sickle is still in use; and here the ox and the goat may still be seen treading out the grain. Here the shepherd still lives with his sheep; and here the rugged mountain-side reminds the visitor of the rocky hills of Palestine. Here bricks are still made of straw; corn is ground between two stones; and beds are rolled up and taken along when on a journey. There is much in the life to suggest to the visitor that he has slipped back a few centuries into a life of which we have read, but which few of us have witnessed. The artist, the archæologist, the anthropologist, the ethnologist, the sociologist, and the student of folklore all find here in New Mexico a field which satisfies their longings, for there are ever new things to learn.

We do not have to go back into the prehistoric period, however, to find much that is of unusual interest. The old Governor's Palace in Santa Fe, of which we know the history, is perhaps as interesting and as full of romance as any of the prehistoric dwellings with which the state abounds. This Palace, built in 1605 of the ever-available adobe, still stands after more than three centuries of constant use. Here the long line of Spanish, Pueblo, Mexican, and American Territorial Governors has passed in continuous procession. This building, which antedates the settlement of Jamestown, New

Amsterdam, and Plymouth, has been through sieges and triumphs. It has housed executions and scenes of public thanksgiving. Here has floated the flag of Spain, the flag of Mexico, and the flag of the United States. Here murder has been committed, and here Lew Wallace as Governor of the Territory wrote the last part of Ben Hur, a tale of the Christ. Here in 1846 General Kearney formally took possession of New Mexico for the United States, and here he slept on the dirt floor after his long and weary march across the prairies. Or if one is not content he may walk across the ancient plaza and visit the famous old San Miguel Church, claimed to be the oldest church in the United States and to date back more than three hundred years. It is made of adobe and its walls are very thick. It is said that the bodies of many very important personages have been buried in this church, including the famous Spanish conqueror, De Vargas. Here can be seen and heard the famous bell, said to be the oldest bell in the United States, and just across the way stands the old adobe house which is claimed with equal enthusiasm to be the oldest dwelling in the United States. In Santa Fe one does indeed stand in the presence of the past, but a past which antedates the coming of the Spaniard nearly four hundred years ago by hundreds and possibly by thousands of years.

All this provides but the setting for the life of the present, but it is a setting which must be understood if the New Mexico of to-day is to be understood and if her problems are to be sympathetically and intelligently approached. New Mexico bears to-day the imprint of both the Spanish and the Mexican periods through which she has lived. The Spanish era left its language, its religion, its methods of agriculture, and many of its social customs

indelibly stamped upon the region. The Mexican period, which was shorter and which occupied a time when Mexico herself was in turmoil and only just finding herself as a nation, possibly had a larger effect indirectly than directly upon the life of the region. Throughout all the Southwest there were many of Spanish and Mexican descent when the territory became a part of the United States three-quarters of a century ago. For the most part these settlers were of the independent, rugged, frontier type which had never been bothered with any undue enthusiasm for a central government of any sort. Their very isolation made their interests local. The fact, however, that the language of these people was Spanish as was the language of Mexico gave them a feeling of kinship with Mexico. Of course, too, the kinship was more than a mere feeling. On the other hand the stream of immigrants from Mexico has never ceased for more than three hundred years and the group which we adopted in 1848 has been steadily augmented both from within and from without. The fact that General Kearney was able to take over New Mexico without the shedding of blood, and the further fact that during the Civil War, which followed so soon after New Mexico had become a part of the United States, New Mexico stood loyal to the Union, are both indications that there never has been among our Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest any very pronounced pro-Mexico feeling. So far as they have been stirred by feelings of patriotism those feelings have been directed toward the United States. There has probably never been any real danger in the past that our Southwest would quickly turn against the United States in case of trouble with Mexico. The descendants of those who occupied this territory when we received it are of course

American citizens, "Spanish-Americans" we have come to call them. They are to be found throughout all of the Southwest, but they stand out most conspicuously in New Mexico. Both isolation and numbers have been factors in creating this situation.

At Santa Fe, both the ancient and the modern capital of New Mexico, there are to be seen some of the strangest sights which are to be witnessed in the United States. In politics the Spanish-speaking element has always been and still is the dominant factor in the state. The Governor, a large number of the legislators, and a majority of all the other office holders in the state are of this group. When the legislature of the state meets, therefore, to transact business it becomes of the first importance that the speeches which are made and the remarks which are passed shall be interpreted so that all can understand. When a member speaks in English his remarks must be turned by the interpreter into Spanish so that those members of the legislature who do not understand English may know what he is talking about, and when another member speaks in Spanish the English-speaking members would be helpless without the aid of the faithful interpreter to interpret what has been said. Probably in no other state in the Union is the legislative business of the state conducted in two languages. And what is true of the legislative business is likewise true in court proceedings and in other activities of government where language is wont to be used.

Of course most of these Spanish-speaking officeholders are native-born American citizens. A few were born in Mexico. Most of them grew up in the United States and attended the public schools in New Mexico. The fact that they do not understand English is but an indication

of the difficult task which the public school confronts in the teaching of English in communities where Spanish is the only language heard in the homes, on the streets, or on the playground. In the larger centers there is more incentive to master the English language, but in New Mexico there have been few "larger" centers. For the most part the people have lived tucked away in the mountains or hidden in the valleys sometimes fifty miles from the railroads, sometimes more. The roads are rough, often following the beds of mountain streams, so that during seasons of high water they are altogether cut off from the outside world and even during the more favorable seasons the difficulties of travel are so numerous that a trip "to town" is an event to be looked forward to for days and to be achieved only in the face of obstacles. One town in the central part of New Mexico visited by the writer during the spring of 1920 is more or less typical of scores of others.

It was situated fifty miles from the railroad, back in the mountains. All of the residents were Spanish-Americans with the exception of two mission school teachers. Spanish was the language spoken in every home in the community, and of the several hundred individuals in the town only two resident adults could speak English fluently. Most of the others could neither understand nor speak English. The nearest telephone was thirty-six miles away, the nearest doctor farther away than that, and groceries were hauled in over mountain roads for fifty-five miles, or only after 110 miles of travel for each load. To live permanently fifty-five miles from the nearest spool of thread, a trousers' button, or the simplest farm implement is to develop independence, initiative, and self-reliance, but it does not help greatly in the learn-

ing of a language which one in the very nature of the case can rarely or never hear spoken. In this particular town nearly everybody was related to nearly everybody else. The town has had an interesting history. More than fifty years ago a Mexican and his wife drove back into the wilderness and settled. There they raised a family. For the first few years they lived in a cave in the side of the mountain. Later they built an adobe house. As the children grew up they sought wives and husbands. A few people moved into the region and one after another little adobe houses and barns came into existence until the town has grown to its present size. As soon as spring appears the residents begin to scatter out to their little ranches distributed throughout the region. They raise their corn, and their beans, their oats, their wheat, their potatoes and various other crops. Their sheep, their goats, and their cattle forage on the mountainside or in the valley. In the fall the population once more returns to the town with the fruitage of the summer's labors.

In some of these higher altitudes in New Mexico the climate is surprisingly severe and sometimes the seasons are unfavorable. It is not to be wondered at that these people have only succeeded in securing the barest living. We should pause, however, before we jump to the conclusion that this indicates some native lack on the part of the people themselves. I have spent months at a time among the Highlanders of our Appalachian mountains and for industry, frugality, cleanliness, and general progressiveness these highlanders of the Southwest of Spanish and Mexican ancestry would seem to be on a par with those of the East who are of the best Scottish and Anglo-Saxon descent. Similar forces of environment have pro-

duced a similar result among peoples sometimes supposed to be very different. In each case we have a poor, but sturdy, independent, and self-reliant people. As a matter of fact the Mexican has never yet had a fair chance to show what he could make of himself. He has been held in subjection by autocratic political power and by a feudalistic social system which was bound to be dwarfing. Even in the early days of New Mexico a well developed feudalism prevailed. Sheep-growing was the great industry and we are told that at the beginning of the nineteenth century one single holding amounted to 2,000,000 sheep. The care of these required 2,700 persons always in the field, besides the thousands of others who were directly dependent upon them. These workers received little pay and it was very easy to get them into debt to the overlord, who thus held his workers in practical slavery.

For a time even after New Mexico became a territory of the United States practical peonage was authorized by law under an enactment entitled a "Law Regulating Contracts Between Master and Servant." This provided that a servant might leave his master's employ upon paying all that he owed to the master. This provision gave the master practically the continuous service of the servant. Since New Mexico became a part of the United States the chief obstacles to progress, however, have been ignorance, isolation, the barrenness of much of the country, and, for some time, the difficulty of getting a clear title to real estate. Gradually these untoward conditions are being removed, and there is every reason to believe that these Spanish-Americans will move out into more vital relationships to our national life as the years pass. The talk about the Mexican and the Spanish-American as

"mañana" men is somewhat unfair, at least until we have had a chance to see what they can do with proper incentives and with adequate nourishment for their bodies. Up to date there is little to indicate that they have behaved particularly different from what other races would have behaved under similar circumstances.

Nor should we assume that the Spanish-American is necessarily disloyal or unpatriotic merely because he does not speak the English language. The reason that he does not know English is that he has never been taught it, and in his limited sphere he has not felt particularly embarrassed by his ignorance. Of course we cannot permit him to remain permanently in this unfortunate condition, but it is a condition which cannot be altered overnight. Until it is altered the responsibility rests perhaps as much upon our shoulders as upon his. We have a large task, but there are few discouraging and many encouraging aspects of it. The present is a time for patience and a time for rendering every possible assistance to New Mexico within our power, as she grapples with a situation which is of national significance but the details of which must be worked out locally.

Governor O. A. Larrazola, the recent state executive, has been sharply criticized for his zeal for the teaching of Spanish in the lower grades of the public schools of the state. He is doubtless wrong in his judgment as to methods of procedure, but there appears to be nothing sinister in connection with his patriotic intentions and attitudes so far as the United States is concerned. He has zealously preached an orthodox Americanism, has taught respect for and urged allegiance to the American flag, and he has extolled the ideals of Christianity and the virtues of the Christian home.

For three-quarters of a century New Mexico has been a part of the United States. During that time she has made remarkable strides along every line. She got a late start, and physical conditions and differences of race have proved to be large, but not unsurmountable, difficulties. We are already proud of New Mexico and her Spanish-American population. They gave a good account of themselves both during the Civil War and during the late War, and they have given a good account of themselves in times of peace. Some day when educational facilities shall have been better developed and shall have had an opportunity to work their inevitable results we shall find it less natural to speak of them as "Spanish-Americans," for they will have lost their identity and have become merged in the great American populace which is made up of so many different strains and different mixtures and which we all fondly believe possesses the abilities and the virtues of them all.

# CHAPTER IV

## RELIGION

If we are to understand the present religious situation among the Mexicans and the Spanish-Americans in the United States, we must recall a little of the historical background for it. The natives of Mexico were zealously religious even before the arrival of the Spaniards, and the religious authority was very closely identified with the political authority. This was particularly true under the Montezumas, the last of the Aztec rulers, and religious practices had become rather highly developed. Cortes and the other early Spanish explorers were accompanied by Catholic friars, and one of the avowed purposes of all the early explorations was the extension of the Christian faith among the heathen.

Thus when Panfilo de Narvaez petitioned in 1527 for a grant which was to include all of our southern gulf states, the northern part of Mexico, and New Mexico, he wrote: "Sacred Cæsarean Catholic Majesty: Inasmuch as I, Panfilo de Narvaez, have ever had and still have the intention of serving God and Your Majesty, I desire to go in person with my means to a certain country on the main of the Ocean Sea. I propose chiefly to traffic with the natives of the coast, and to take thither religious men and ecclesiastics approved by your Royal Council of the Indies, that they may make known and

plant the Christian Faith. I shall observe fully what your Council require and ordain to the ends of serving God and Your Highness, and for the good of your subjects." This particular expedition met with many misfortunes, but the statement is typical of the time and of the entire period of Spanish domination.

The early Spanish expeditions to "New Spain" were all conceived with the avowed purpose of extending the ecclesiastical authority of the Catholic Church quite as much as to extend the political domination of Spain. The story of the spread of nominal Christianity became practically identical with that of Spanish conquest. The spread of missions in those days did not wait upon the slow processes of enlightenment, education, or persuasion. The rule of the Church was imposed as ruthlessly as the rule of the state. Thus De Vargas had no more than established himself in Santa Fe, after he had subdued the natives who had revolted some years before, than he sent back word to his Viceroy that he had "conquered for the human and Divine Majesties" all the pueblos for thirty-six leagues and had baptized nearly 1,000 children "born in rebellion." Thus in a sort of wholesale fashion Christianity was imposed upon the natives throughout New Spain. The story did not vary particularly in the different parts of the territory. During the entire period of Spanish domination and of Mexican independence the Church and the ecclesiastical authorities have been perhaps the dominating influence in determining the political fortunes of Mexico, for, in spite of the fact that the ecclesiastics stood, with few exceptions, strongly with Spain against Mexican independence, the power of the clergy was dominant in the new republic. One of the early acts of the new government was the passage (Jan-

uary 4, 1823) of a "National Colonization Law," of which the following paragraph is the first article:

"Article I. The government of the Mexican nation will protect the liberty, property, and civil rights of all foreigners who profess the Roman Catholic apostolic religion, the established religion of the empire."

Another article of the same law reads as follows:

"Article XVI. The government shall take care, in accord with the respective ecclesiastical authority, that these new towns are provided with a sufficient number of spiritual pastors, and, in like manner, it will propose to Congress a plan for their decent support."

It is needless to multiply illustrations of the close association of the ecclesiastical with the political authority, or to dwell upon the vast wealth collected by the Church. By 1850, however, it was estimated that the Church owned one-third of all the real and personal property of the Mexican Republic. The power of the Church became so vast and the conditions which it imposed became so intolerable, that an overturn of authority became next to inevitable. This came under Benito Pablo Juarez, an Indian by birth but one of the great leaders of Mexico. Under his influence the constitution of 1857 was made to provide for freedom of religious opinions, and two years later the complete separation of church and state and the confiscation of much of the Church property was brought about. The influence of the church in politics did not stop with the formal separation of church and state. The common people had become so dominantly Catholic that the influence of the Church upon all public affairs was still bound to be very large. Nor did the exploitations of the people by the Church cease.

As late as 1851 we are told by the author of "El Gringo" that in New Mexico the charge for spiritual services in connection with burials was so large that parents were known to abandon their children because they could not afford to pay for the burial charges of the church. He tells of one bill regularly made out and submitted of which he had personal knowledge which amounted to $1,600. This included a charge of approximately $1,000 for "los deréchos del obispo" (the rights of the bishop), and a charge of fifty dollars each for "los posos," which meant that each time the procession halted on the way to the burial a charge of fifty dollars was made. He tells of another bill of which he had knowledge which included charges for the following items: "Tolling of the bells," "the grave," "the grand cross," "high mass vestments," "holy water," "candlesticks," "vessel for incense," "resting places," "the interment," "mass," "use of the organ," "the chanters," "the response of the oratory," "the deacon's fee," and "additional." The charges for these items varied from one to thirty dollars each, and a bill made out in regular form was submitted by the ecclesiastical authorities and paid by the man who was so unfortunate as to lose any member of his family by death.

Up until 1850 in New Mexico and 1867 in Old Mexico the Catholic Church had no competition from Protestant churches. Protestant work has developed slowly. Within recent years, however, there has been a steadily growing feeling of dissatisfaction with the Catholic Church and its methods in Mexico, and in large areas the priests have, at times, literally been driven out of Mexico. While the revolution of 1920 which resulted in the overthrow of Carranza was in progress I talked with a prominent

leader of the revolutionists concerning this religious question.

"What will be the attitude of the new government toward religion?" I inquired.

"It will be that of religious freedom and toleration," he replied; and then he continued, "For one I do not believe that we ought to drive out the Church. That won't work. The Mexican people are too religious for that, but I do believe that we must have religious liberty, and Protestant missionary work will be gladly welcomed by the new government, particularly the educational work."

The new government in Mexico evidently intends to give both the Catholic and the Protestant churches in Mexico every opportunity to carry on their regular activities, but the lessons of the past have not been forgotten, and there is a determination of steel to see to it that the blighting hand of Catholic ecclesiasticism shall never again dominate the government.

All of this may seem to have little to do with the religious situation among our own Spanish-speaking population, but as a matter of fact it has much to do with it; first, because New Mexico was so long a part of Old Mexico and, second, because out of this Mexican environment there have come hundreds of thousands of Mexicans into the United States recently, and, while they are mostly nominal Catholics, many of them are in a state of mental revolt against the only church with which they have been associated. This makes them particularly responsive to any sincere, sympathetic, and kindly, religious approach which is made to them. They are, therefore, more responsive to Protestant and other religious efforts than are the Spanish-American Catholics who have re-

sided longer in the United States and who are not so familiar in recent years with the results of unrestrained Catholic domination which has so long blighted the life of Mexico and the Mexicans. Some of the charges against the Catholic Church in connection with its work among the Mexicans and Spanish-Americans in the United States do not form pleasant reading, but until they are faced frankly by ecclesiastical authorities and some solutions worked out there is little hope of these people taking their full place on an intellectual and moral level with the rest of our citizenry. The question is fully as much one of Americanization and of social morality as it is a religious question.

In the early days the natives were "converted" to Christianity at the rate of thousands per day practically at the point of the gun. It was inevitable that this acceptance of Christianity could be only a formal matter. The cross was substituted for or became an affix to some pagan ceremony. Even to-day in our Southwest the cross is an ever-present wayside decoration in scores of communities where vital Christianity is unknown. Heathen rites and Christian ceremonies became merged in something which was partly Christian in nomenclature and pagan in spirit and reality. Such wholesale extension of formal Christianity could result in nothing else. Christianity became a matter of form and ceremony, and Christianity as a way of life received little attention.

Religion and morality either became entirely divorced or religion became a convenient device for making immorality safe and innocuous. The "Bull of Composition" is said to have permitted the priests to relieve persons who stole property from the obligation of making restitution, provided that a certain sum, based on the value of

the stolen goods, was paid to the priest. It was understood, however, that the same person could not purchase more than fifty of such licenses in one year. As late as 1914 John Wesley Butler writes of Mexico, "Indulgences are still sold publicly." To-day we see the fruitage of such a system, for observers everywhere testify to the fact that Mexicans raised under such a system may have many virtues, but they will persistently steal and lie. Thus a Mexican who is a faithful worker and is a kindly, polite, and orderly citizen will lie amazingly and will take property which does not belong to him when opportunity offers. On the other hand, Mexicans raised under a different environment are as scrupulously truthful and honest as Americans.

Closely associated with this is the attitude of the Mexican toward marriage and the sex relationship in general. Here again the church by its exorbitant marriage fees has discouraged marriage and encouraged promiscuity. This, too, is unfortunate. The author of "El Gringo" tells us that after New Mexico became a part of the United States the very lowest marriage fee charged was $20, or the equivalent of a peon's wages for four months. From this amount the charges ranged up to at least $400. The list of abuses might be greatly extended. It should be borne in mind also that many Roman Catholic writers have spoken as freely of religious conditions in Mexico as have Protestant writers.

In 1865 Abbé Emanuel Domenech came to Mexico as chaplain of the French troops. Later he was asked by the Vatican to make a tour of the country and report upon "the moral and religious conditions of the clergy and Church." The following is quoted by John Wesley Butler from Abbé Domenech's report: "Mexican faith is a

dead faith. The abuse of external ceremonies, the facility of reconciling God, the abuse of internal exercises of piety, have killed the faith in Mexico. . . . The idolatrous character of Mexican Catholicism is a fact well known to all travelers. . . . The mysteries of the Middle Ages are utterly outdone by the burlesque ceremonies of the Mexicans. . . . The Mexican is not a Catholic. He is simply a Christian because he has been baptized. I speak of the masses and not of the numerous exceptions to be found. . . . The clergy carry their love of the family to that of paternity. In my travels in the interior of Mexico, many pastors have refused me hospitality in order to prevent my seeing their nieces and cousins and their children." It should be remembered that these are the words of a Roman Catholic who has endeavored to understand the actual situation in Mexico.

It is not surprising that with such a background we find throughout the Southwest, but particularly in the secluded parts of New Mexico, religious beliefs, customs, and superstitions which have either never existed in other parts of the country or have been outgrown generations ago. Thus we read in the "Land of Poco Tiempo" by Charles F. Lummis that as late as 1887 a local witch was stoned to death in New Mexico for the crime of turning a perfectly respectable citizen into a woman for the space of three months. He also speaks of a number of people who have seen and held converse with "his Satanic Majesty." Possibly the most extreme manifestation of depraved religious practices at the present time is to be found among the Penitentes of New Mexico.

The origin of this peculiar Penitente order is somewhat in dispute. It has been easy to jump at the conclusion that they were connected in some historical manner with

the "Flagellantes," an order which originated in the Middle Ages (Italy, 1210) and later spread throughout a large part of Europe. A more careful study seems to indicate, however, that the Penitentes of New Mexico (for they are to be found nowhere else except in the northeastern counties of New Mexico and to a slight extent in southern Colorado) are a continuation of the Third Order of Saint Francis. L. Bradford Prince, in his story of the "Spanish Mission Churches in New Mexico," says that this order introduced customs which could very easily be exaggerated and corrupted into the present Penitente customs and ceremonies. Benavides, the great Franciscan, in his report to the king in 1630, quotes an Indian wizard who was opposed to Christianity as saying: "You Spaniards and Christians are crazy and desire us to be so also. You are so crazy that you go along the streets lashing yourselves like madmen, shedding blood." To this Benavides adds, "He must have seen some disciplinary procession of Holy Week in some Christian pueblo."

There is every reason to believe that we have here the beginning of the Penitente customs. The Third Order of Saint Francis was composed of laymen and it was widely extended throughout New Mexico. Its purpose was to carry the principles of the life of Saint Francis into the life of the laity, and for two centuries nearly all of the leading citizens were members of the Order. This fact is borne out by the wills of the period which are said to have usually contained the following clause, "I direct that when God, our Lord, shall see fit to call me out of this present life, my body be enshrouded in the habit of our father, San Francisco, of whose Third Order I am a brother, and that my funeral be modest." This

continued throughout the Spanish occupancy and until the Mexican Revolution, when the Franciscans were forced to leave the field and the supervision of the Third Order. The Penitentes, who seem to be the lineal descendants of this Third Order, came to call themselves "The Brotherhood of the Blood of Christ."

Some years ago this order was supposed to be dying out, but it has recently seemed to take on new life. This is said to be due quite largely to the encouragement of politicians who have discovered the political possibilities of the organization. I have not seen the articles of incorporation, but I am informed by a Spanish-American who has long been resident among the Penitentes of New Mexico that the order has recently been incorporated by the state of New Mexico under the name, "Sociedad de Nuestro Padre Jesus, De Nazareno" (The Society of Our Father Jesus, the Nazarene), and that many county and state officials in New Mexico owe their positions to the Penitentes. Mr. Lummis writes that in the year 1888 but "three towns in the Territory had Penitente processions and but one enjoyed a crucifixion." If Mr. Lummis was correct there has indeed been a considerable revival since that time, for in the year 1920 there are scores of towns where the Penitentes are the dominating political, social, and religious factor in the community. The Moradas or Penitente houses are usually made of stone or adobe, often without windows of any sort and marked only by a small wooden cross. Sometimes these buildings stand by the side of the Catholic church and sometimes at a distance from it. Sometimes they are out in the open and sometimes in out-of-the-way spots.

The meetings of the order are secret and it is not easy to know even who the members in a given community

are. During Holy Week, however, some of their ceremonies and particularly their processions are in the open. The participants in these open processions wear a black mask over the entire head, so that even their neighbors do not know who is taking part. They wear a small lower garment, but aside from that and the mask their bodies are naked. Their backs are gashed with flint or some other sharp instrument, and then they whip themselves with whips made of yucca or other harsh cactus, as they proceed on their weary march. Some carry wooden crosses of great weight to a distant hill; some wheel barrows of stone through impassable sand, and others draw heavy loads with cords which cut into their naked bodies. Many sorts of suffering are devised and these vary from community to community, inasmuch as there is little or no general supervision of the order. There is said to be a superstitious regard for the verse, "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." There is also on the part of some a desire to do sufficient penance at one time to last for the entire year. It should not be inferred, however, that these people are particularly contrite, for some of the worst characters appear to enter most zealously into the ritual and then to go out for another year of unimproved conduct. Actual crucifixions apparently no longer take place, but exposure and scourging often incapacitate the participants for longer or shorter periods. A reliable witness told the writer of a young man who was recently laid up for nearly six months, during a portion of which time he was at the point of death, as a result of participation in a Penitente procession. These Penitente processions have been witnessed by hundreds of people in spite of the fact that every possible secrecy is observed, and I have seen several

relatively recent snapshots of participants in such processions.

For many years, particularly since the coming of Bishop Lamy in 1851, the Catholic Church has disapproved of the Penitente customs. In spite of that fact all of the Penitentes are supposed to be members in good standing of the Catholic Church and they usually succeed in holding a portion of their Holy Week exercises in the Catholic Church.

Of a similar superstitious nature is the reverence paid to the little old Catholic church at Chimayo, New Mexico. This object of pilgrimage and reverence is variously known as "Santuario, Chimayo" and as the "San Esquipula Church." It is a little adobe structure sixty by twenty-four feet in dimensions and with walls three feet thick. Picturesquely situated on the mountainside, miles from the railroad, in a most inaccessible region, it is the object of pilgrimage for Mexicans and Spanish-Americans from a wide area, including Arizona and parts of Old Mexico. The dirt enclosed in one room of this church is supposed to have miraculous properties, especially in the healing of sickness. As many as one hundred visitors have been known to visit the church in a single day, and on occasion pilgrims may be seen approaching the building on their hands and knees. Hundreds of people all over the Southwest attribute their present good health to the healing properties of the dirt in this famous church at Chimayo. A considerable hole has been dug in the dirt floor by pilgrims who insist on carrying home some of the earth. Old residents say that this earth was once used to allay the violence of storms and to ward off lightnings. The method used was to throw a few grains of the dirt into the fireplace; when the smoke reached the

top of the chimney the fury of the storm abated and, if there were lightnings, they were turned aside. At present diseases are supposed to be healed by the drinking of a sort of tea made from the sacred earth or by the application of a portion of it to the diseased part of the body.

This Church was privately built in 1816 by a prosperous Mexican. It is still under private control and has never been under the control of the priest. For many years, however, the priest ministered in it. The Church is said to be unique among all the churches of the Southwest in its reputation for the healing of disease.

It is needless to multiply illustrations of the way that ignorance, bigotry, and superstition have been woven into the very warp and woof of the religious life of the Mexicans and Spanish-Americans of our Southwest. If further illustration were needed we might note the legends concerning the miraculous painting of "Our Lady of Guadalupe" still perpetuated as truths, or the superstitious beliefs which have gathered about the famous De Vargas Day celebration in Santa Fé and other similar superstitious beliefs and practices. The fact is that the Spanish-Roman-Catholic domination of our Southwest has left our unfortunate Spanish-speaking citizens there with a heritage some of which dates back almost unchanged to the Middle Ages and which at its best is un-American and unfitted both in principle and practice to the needs of the Twentieth Century in which we live. For not the least of the errors which the Church has committed has been the refusal to raise up a native leadership, so that after 400 years we have the Church dominated by priests from France, Italy, Belgium, Spain and other European countries, priests who sometimes know little or nothing of the English language and who are

ignorant of or out of sympathy with American ideals and institutions.

Unsatisfactory as has been the ministry of the Roman Catholic Church in this region, even this unsatisfactory ministry has failed to reach large numbers of the people, and the story has in many places been chiefly a story of neglect. The religious ministry in many communities consists of an infrequent visit from an itinerant priest. The poverty of the people has made the monetary returns small and the service has suffered as a result.

From a religious standpoint possibly nothing would be better for our Spanish-speaking Americans than for the Roman Catholic Church to frankly acknowledge her shortcomings in the past and to embark upon an educational campaign designed to substitute a religion of enlightenment for a religion of superstition; a religion of righteousness for one of formality; a religion of service for one of moral and financial exploitation; a religion of Americanism for a religion of un-Americanism; and a native trained leadership for a European trained leadership. The Roman Catholic Church holds the key to unlock the new day in our Southwest, so far at least as our Mexicans and Spanish-Americans are concerned, if she will but use it. If she refuses some one else must do the job.

It should not be inferred, of course, that the Protestant church is to have no place in ushering in the new day. She already has a large part in the task, and although she has sometimes moved haltingly she has made a far larger contribution to the religious and moral life of the people among whom she has been working than any results in terms of membership constituency might seem to indicate. She began her work about 1850 and she

was, therefore, some 325 years behind the Roman Catholic Church in the same field. In the early days there was much persecution of Protestant workers; they were threatened, stoned, and, in at least one or two cases, killed. At present Protestant work for Mexicans and Spanish-Americans is being carried on in some 300 different communities in our border states. There is a reported membership of more than 10,000 and a Protestant constituency of several times that number. In the early days the work consisted largely of preaching and Sunday-school activities. Very soon an educational work was developed and more recently an elaborate social program has been undertaken. This is particularly true since the large influx of Mexicans into the United States has brought congestion and multiplied social problems into many communities in the Southwest. This social service program takes on many forms. It includes the maintaining of employment agencies; the furnishing of work and the teaching of trades through "Goodwill Industries"; the establishment of medical and dental clinics; home visitation; the teaching of English; the teaching of Spanish; instruction in music, elocution, practical nursing, health, hygiene, sanitation, manual training of many sorts, and other branches. Mothers are taught sewing, cooking, home-making, and the care of children in Mother's Clubs; and Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and many other clubs are maintained for boys and girls and young people. Mexicans in trouble and sickness are assisted; milk is distributed to undernourished children and to invalids; reading and rest rooms and information bureaus are maintained; and kindergartens are conducted. Day schools are conducted among Spanish-Americans and in Border towns, and Protestant boarding-schools for Span-

ish-speaking youth are to be found in all the Border states. In many places playground apparatus is provided, and community activities promoted. These include community celebrations, war-time garden projects, "clean-up" weeks, and other similar projects.

Much of this work is done purely as a service to the individual and the community, and no strings are attached to it. It is pure Americanization work done in the spirit of Christian service. Whenever possible a small charge is made for services rendered, in order that the habit of dependence and pauperization may not be encouraged. There is nothing of exploitation and little or nothing of "proselytism" in connection with this fine and rapidly extending social ministry. Its primary purpose is to assist an unfortunate and often helpless people to establish themselves upon an American plane of living. As a by-product this work is doing much to establish confidence on the part of Mexicans in Americans and in America, and new arrivals in America have proved to be remarkably open to approach and remarkably grateful when they have once become convinced that certain Americans, at least, stand ready to help them during the difficult period of getting established in a new land, merely because they are fellow human beings in need.

In this fine work many independent agencies are assisting. Thus the Y. M. C. A. has several Mexican branches where Mexican boys and young men are receiving under a wholesome environment the same sort of opportunities and training as is accorded to American youth. The Y. W. C. A. used a portion of its war fund for Americanization work among Spanish-speaking people on the Border. A number of centers were opened from San Antonio through to Los Angeles. As the original funds have

become exhausted, the work has in some cases been adopted locally. In these centers a great variety of activities has been carried on. Hundreds of Mexican girls and women have been gathered in English classes, cooking classes, and home-making clubs of many sorts. The teaching of history and American civics has been included, and the work has reached not only the poorer Mexican women but also some of the wealthiest and most aristocratic among the refugees. In Pirtleville, Arizona, the work has included a fine ministry to the boys and girls of the community, the establishment of a community reading room, the distribution of quantities of magazines and other periodicals, and various other ministries. In El Paso a room has been set aside for the use of Mexican girls employed as shop girls and as stenographers, to which they can come during the noon hour to prepare and eat their mid-day lunch. Thus the list of ministries carried on by these and other agencies might be greatly extended. They are but illustrations of the way in which America is extending the hand of friendship to our newly arrived neighbors from Old Mexico. They represent one of the most hopeful aspects of the entire Border situation.

It is needless to talk about the "rights" of the Protestant church to work in this field. In a land of religious freedom there will always be opportunity for earnest Christians to proclaim the truth as they see it. In this field, however, there has been the challenge of great need to which the Protestant church could do no less than respond. There will, without doubt, always be a Protestant constituency here, and very likely it will be a steadily increasing constituency. The responsive attitude of the newcomers from Mexico seems to promise this, particularly when the present enlarged program of Christian

work on the part of the Protestant agencies is taken into consideration. On the other hand, a Protestant membership constituency of something over ten thousand souls as the result of three-quarters of a century of effort does not promise any quick solution of the religious problem in this field by the conversion of our Spanish-speaking population to the Protestant faith. If the solution of the matter depended upon this, the situation would indeed be discouraging. Quite apart from numbers the Protestant Church has brought into the field higher ideals of life and conduct, a more wholesome interpretation of God and of Jesus Christ, and an attitude of unadulterated Americanism which has had a wide influence upon the life of the Southwest, including the Roman Catholic Church.

There have been many fine, self-sacrificing, and devoted Catholic leaders in the Southwest, but they have been handicapped by a heritage so corrupt and a system so un-American that their best efforts have been largely nullified. And yet the future of our Spanish-Americans would seem to lie in the hands of the Catholic Church unless that institution persists in "sinning away its day of grace." If she will but substitute a religion of truth for one of superstitution: if she will put as much emphasis upon conduct and social morality as she now puts upon ceremony; if she will substitute Americanism for un-Americanism; if she will raise up and substitute a native leadership for a foreign leadership; if she will substitute service for exploitation; and if she will assist every Spanish-speaking member of her constituency in the United States to master and speak the English language, she will render a service for which we shall as a nation have genuine cause for thanksgiving and which will help us to forget some of the errors of the past.

# CHAPTER V

## EDUCATION

The many recently arrived Mexican families in the United States have placed the school systems of our Southwestern states under an unusual strain. The mere increase in numbers, coming as it did at a time when attention and energy were taken up with the World War, was sufficient embarrassment in countless communities, but the introduction of a large group of non-English-speaking children brought with it complications and problems which have proved much more difficult of solution than has the mere problem of numbers. These considerations, added to the fact that both New Mexico and Texas have been slow in bringing their public school systems to efficiency, and to the further fact that schools all over the United States have recently been seriously embarrassed by a shortage of teachers and other post-war conditions, have accentuated an already difficult situation.

Writing in "El Gringo" as early as 1857, W. W. H. Davis said: "The standard of education in New Mexico is at a very low ebb, and there is a larger number of persons who cannot read and write than in any other Territory in the Union. The number attending school is given as 460, which is about one scholar to every 125 inhabitants. . . . This exhibits a fearful amount of ignorance among the people, and it is enough to make us question the propriety of intrusting them with the power

to make their own laws. It was always the policy of Spain and Mexico to keep her people in ignorance, and, so far as New Mexico was concerned, they seem to have carried out the system with singular faithfulness, and in no country in the world that lays the least claim to civilization has general education and a cultivation of the arts been so generally neglected. . . . There is not a native physician in the country, nor am I aware that there has ever been one."

At best, 460 pupils in a population of 61,547 does not make a very satisfactory showing. Matters did not improve rapidly, however, when New Mexico became a Territory of the United States. The Federal government did little at first to promote education and New Mexico did not have a public school law until 1891.

It should be said, however, that the New Mexico Territorial Legislature passed a bill at its 1855-1856 session establishing a common school system to be supported by public taxation. The measure was submitted to the people, and thirty-seven votes were cast for it; a total of 5,016 votes was recorded as opposed to the measure. It is worthy of mention that about this time the United States government sent a box of books as a gift to the Territory with which it might start a territorial library. The territorial legislature, however, refused to pay the freight charges on the books and left them to be sold for the freight or destroyed by the freight agent. Dr. Thomas Harwood, who spent half a century in New Mexico, says that in 1870 "not a public school house could be found, hardly a Bible in one family in a thousand, and only a few other books; hardly a public road or a bridge; . . . hardly an American plow, wagon, or buggy."

In 1910, 48,697 persons of ten years of age or over, or 20.2 per cent of the total population of the state, were reported as illiterate.

The latest biennial report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, published in 1918, gives the total school population (5 to 21 years) of New Mexico as 121,829, of whom 86,699 were enrolled in school. The average attendance was 56,398. For the state 1,413 schoolhouses were reported, and a total of 2,641 teachers was employed. A recent investigation by the Russell Sage Foundation into the efficiency of the different school systems in the United States places New Mexico thirty-first among the states of the Union. This rating is said to have been based upon a study of attendance, training given, progress made by pupils, amounts expended for buildings and supplies, salaries paid, and other similar items. New Mexico seems, therefore, to have made very encouraging progress in connection with her schools. Such a report cannot, however, in the very nature of the case, tell the whole story, for New Mexico is unique among the states.

The language question is ever at the front in New Mexico. Shall it be English, or shall it be Spanish? The Governor and a certain group of officials have had one idea and another group has had another idea. Governor Larrazola is reported to be strongly in favor of having the first few years of instruction given in Spanish in communities where it is desired. This plan has not yet been legalized in the state, however. The present state law provides, "That Spanish as a separate subject shall be taught in any public elementary or high school in the state when a majority vote of the board of school directors or board of education in charge of such school shall

Texas

direct" . . . but that, "Except as herein provided, the books used and the instruction given in said schools shall be in the English language; provided that Spanish may be used in explaining the meaning of English words to Spanish-speaking pupils who do not understand English."

The law is perhaps beyond reproach, but it is only fair to say that, in the rural regions particularly, it does not operate to produce any very great facility in the use of the English language among pupils who come to school from Spanish-speaking homes. The reason of course is not far to seek. Thousands of pupils come to the public school who have never spoken a word of English. Very likely their teachers are also from Spanish-speaking homes. It is inevitable that under those conditions much of the conversation in the schoolroom will be in Spanish, while on the playground and at home Spanish is the only language heard or used. The ability to pronounce a few English words from a book, words the meaning of which is often unknown, does not add greatly to the pupil's knowledge of a language which is strange to him and which he has little occasion to use in school and no occasion to use outside of school. Thus I rode recently for two days over the mountains of New Mexico with a Spanish-American, a citizen, born and raised in the United States and trained in the public schools of New Mexico, and yet, if his life had depended upon his ability to have spoken a complete sentence in the English language, I do not think that he could have accomplished the feat. And his case is more or less typical of the cases of thousands of others, who under similar conditions grow up without being able to read either English or Spanish and with a speaking knowledge of Spanish only. We face here a very difficult situation and one which calls neither

for harsh criticism nor for harsh measures, but rather for sympathy, helpfulness and insight. There are many factors involved here in addition to the simple pedagogical matter of teaching a language. Of course the language must be taught persistently and insistently, but what is one going to do with it after he has learned it if it is a language which his father and mother and his neighbors do not understand. It would seem that these communities which are so distinctly Spanish to-day must inevitably pass through a bi-lingual period before English can finally dominate, and during that period the school has an unusually important and an unusually difficult task to perform. In communities where there is a larger proportion of Anglo-Saxon stock the problem is a simpler one, unless, as happens in many cases, the Spanish element becomes segregated and lives largely to itself. The whole problem is aggravated by the tendency of Spanish-American boys and girls to cut the school years as short as the law will alloy, and in many cases even shorter than that.

In the larger centers along the Border, such as San Antonio, El Paso, Los Angeles, and others, we have similar problems with all sorts of variations.

As early as 1915 Miss Elizabeth Barbour, School Superintendent for Brownsville, Texas, said, in speaking of her pupils in Brownsville, "of those entering the first grade, ninety-two per cent are unable to understand one word of English, much less to speak it. Those of you who have three or four such children in your classes can have no idea of what it means to have the numbers reversed and have three or four English-speaking children among a class of non-English-speaking ones." Some of these children of whom Miss Barbour speaks were not only American-born but of American-born parents, and

some of American-born grandparents. All of these Border towns have recently received a fresh influx of Mexicans. From these Mexican homes come throngs of bright boys and girls with all the good wishes of fond parents who want their children to enjoy all of the advantages which American children have. In an overwhelming proportion of cases, however, their hopes are doomed to disappointment. The entire trail of the public school in the Southwest is strewn with the blasted hopes of Mexican boys and girls. By the time high school is reached there are few left, and of those who complete a high school course the number is small indeed. The proportion varies from city to city, but in general it is always small and sometimes almost negligible. In San Antonio, for example, where 11,000 Mexican pupils are enrolled in the city schools, only 250 were found in high school and not more than ten Mexican graduates were included in a recent graduating class. In El Paso with one half of the grade pupils of Mexican parentage the ratio in the high school is 100 in a total enrollment of 1,400. Recent graduating classes have had from four to ten Mexican students. The Superintendent, A. H. Higby, says "The Mexican children drop out in great numbers at about the fourth grade," Mr. Harry M. Shafer of the Los Angeles city schools says, "Very few Mexican pupils reach the high school and almost none graduate from high schools." Public school authorities have been frank to place part of the blame for this situation upon a course of study conceived for use with American boys and girls and upon methods designed for use with pupils who come from a different environment and who already understand the English language. There is no doubt that part of the difficulty lies here, but there are many

other contributing causes such as economic pressure, undernourishment which undermines ambition, the absolute lack of home assistance, and, perhaps not least, a native sensitiveness which makes unfavorable comparison with other pupils unendurable. This latter factor is accentuated in communities where bitter race prejudice has been allowed to develop, in some cases making the life of a Mexican pupil well-nigh intolerable so long as he stays in school. Fortunately, this condition is not universal, but it is becoming altogether too common especially in Texas towns.

Speaking of the Mexicans in San Antonio, W. J. Know says:

"They will deny themselves the bare necessities of life that their children may be supplied school books. Nothing that will benefit or uplift is withheld. Not only do they think of their own, but you will find in nearly every family some orphan who receives the same consideration as their own child. As is often the case with foreigners, you never hear of a Mexican taking his child out of school for the reason that it has had opportunity enough and must go to work to repay parents. The children are only taken out of school for sheer need, or because they are oversized and ashamed to be with smaller ones, or because of race prejudice against them being so strong that they forego an education rather than submit to the conditions imposed."

Unfortunately one or more of these factors is at work in a sufficient number of cases to make the life of the Mexican pupil in many cases a very unpleasant one, and to make him welcome an interruption of his school activities. Of those who do persist in school a large proportion are from the better Mexican homes where better

opportunities and more adequate food are available. It should be noted, however, that the child of a Mexican peon does not differ in mental ability from the more fortunate Mexican child, as a peon is only a poor Mexican.

The language difficulty is of course a serious one. The Mexican pupil is not only expected to learn all that an English-speaking pupil learns but to learn it in a language which he does not understand. Much of the time he does not know what his teacher is talking about, and the tendency is to learn the English which he does learn in a parrot-like fashion. Even in the schools which are made up largely or exclusively of Mexicans or Mex-Americans the pressure to "make the grade" each year is often the same as in other schools, so that at best the pupil faces a very difficult task. Some schools provide separate classes for those who do not understand English. In California some cities segregate the children of Mexican parentage during the first three years of school life. In congested Mexican centers segregation becomes almost automatic, and in some cases, particularly in Texas, race prejudice brings about segregation.

Of course the child of poorer Mexican parentage is always handicapped both in ideals, incentives, and actual achievement by the limitations of his home environment. The ignorance of the Mexican is always the bond which binds both him and his children. This ignorance often extends to the simplest details which teachers may perhaps be excused for taking for granted. Thus a social worker recently found a girl in a poor Mexican home in distress. She had been told to write a composition upon the "cow in commerce," but a sympathetic conversation with her revealed the fact that she did not know that beefsteak came from a cow or that butter was made from

milk. The utter lack of home guidance had left her to grow up at the mercy of her pitifully limited environment.

Nor is the problem of attendance an easy one to solve among Mexicans in the United States. There is much seasonal work and much moving from place to place, and there are many other factors present to complicate the situation. In the city the task is always difficult, and in the country it becomes in some cases almost hopeless. For example, the report of the Commissioner of Elementary Schools for the State of California published in 1919 states casually that a recent visit to Imperial County has revealed the fact that there are hundreds of pupils of school age not in school, and this in spite of the diligent efforts of attendance officers. Now Imperial County is one of the very southern counties of California on the Mexican Border and inhabited by thousands of Mexicans. The same condition of non-attendance at the public schools can be duplicated in practically every rural region in the Southwest inhabited largely by Mexicans. In Texas it is only recently that there has been a compulsory education law. For the year beginning September 1, 1916, a total of sixty days' attendance was required of children between eight and fourteen years of age; in 1917 this was raised to eighty days; and in 1918 to 100 days. There are, however, numerous exceptions, as, for example: "Any child living more than two and one-half miles by direct and traveled road from the nearest public school supported for children of the same race and color of such child, and with no free transportation provided." In the same way, "Any child more than twelve years of age who has satisfactorily completed the work of the fourth grade of a standard elementary school of seven grades, and whose services are needed in support of a parent or other

person standing in parental relation to the child" may be exempted from further attendance at school. In New Mexico the period of compulsory school attendance is from six to sixteen years, except that pupils fourteen years of age or over may be excused from school if they are gainfully employed.

In spite of limitations, however, the public school is probably rendering a larger service and accomplishing more in the way of Americanization in our Border states than any other institution. For it is a work of Americanization, no matter whether the particular pupil concerned is the child of a Mexican refugee, only temporarily in the United States, or whether he is destined to become a full-fledged American citizen and spend his life in this country. During the World War a large amount of patriotic training was introduced into the public schools, and it was not at all uncommmon to see the children of recently arrived Mexican parents shouting as vigorously for the United States and waving the American flag as energetically as native-born American children.

The field of education has not been left entirely to the public school, however. The Roman Catholic Church organized some parochial schools at an early date, and there are still a number of such schools serving Spanish-Americans, particularly in New Mexico. A work which has been of larger significance from the standpoint of general training and the promotion of Americanism has been done by the Protestant churches. As early as 1852 Protestant mission school work for Mexicans was begun at Brownsville, Texas, and about the same time schools began to be opened in New Mexico. For a long time education in New Mexico was largely confined to church schools. A great many of these schools have been con-

ducted, and their influence has been incalculable. The custom has been for Protestant agencies to give up their distinctive day schools as soon as communities have been in a position to give satisfactory elementry education to their boys and girls, and in some cases even long before that ideal state has been attained.

During the year 1919-1920 forty Protestant mission schools were in existence in the four Border states of Texas, New Mexico (including a small part of Southern Colorado), Arizona, and California. Eighteen of these schools are boarding-schools, as follows: Eight girls' boarding-schools, seven boys' boarding-schools, and three co-educational schools. There are two girls' boarding-schools in California and one for boys; in Arizona there is one girls' boarding-school and none for boys; there are six boarding-schools in New Mexico, two for girls, two for boys, and two co-educational; Texas has eight of these Protestant boarding-schools, three for girls, four for boys, and one co-educational. The chief centers of this boarding-school work are Santa Fé and Albuquerque, New Mexico; El Paso, San Antonio, and Laredo, Texas; Tucson, Arizona; and Los Angeles, California. The Protestant day schools which remain are to be found chiefly in New Mexico and Texas.

These mission schools for Mexicans in the Border states represent a property investment of something over a million dollars, a teaching staff of 157, and an annual budget of not less than $150,000. Just at present this figure bids fair to be largely increased by the erection of new building and the addition of needed equipment. One school alone is putting $100,000 into additional buildings. During the year 1919-1920 3,210 pupils were enrolled in these

Protestant mission schools for Mexicans and Spanish-Americans.

Something of the popularity of these schools may be gathered from the fact that although tuition is charged at practically all of these schools they are in most cases filled to overflowing. During the year 1919-1920 one school alone turned away more than 150 applicants for admission and for whom it had no room. In New Mexico it is particularly striking that hundreds of Spanish-American parents pay their taxes to support the public school and then voluntarily pay tuition to send their children to a Protestant mission school in the same community. And this is done in spite of the fact that the parents are for the most part Catholics and in spite of the strong and often bitter opposition of the itinerant priest. The fact that the standard of instruction is higher in the mission school than in the public school and that in many cases the mission school offers the one opportunity to learn the English language accounts for its popularity. Then, too, the fine unselfish spirit of the mission school teachers has won the confidence of the people. No undue religious pressure is put upon the pupils in these schools, but there is a persistent attempt to inculcate the Christian virtues and to hold up Christian ideals of life and conduct before the pupils. The only pupils who consistently and persistently refuse to attend these schools in the communities where they exist are the children of Penitentes. On the Border these schools often serve an important international constituency, and scores of Mexican boys and girls come regularly across the international line to attend Protestant mission schools.

Nor are these pupils of mission schools all from the poorer homes. Many of them come from homes of

Mexican government officials of importance. General Emilio Salinas, brother-in-law to Carranza, and formerly Mexican Consul in New York City, sent his son to a missionary boarding-school conducted by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Laredo, Texas. Another Mexican consul has several children at present attending another mission school in California, and the list might be greatly extended of similar cases on either side of the Border. The young woman who was stenographer to former President Madero of Mexico recently graduated from a mission school in California, and expects to give her life in service to her people. A young man, who, at the time the United States Army entered Vera Cruz, was an officer under Villa, came across the Border, was reached by a home missionary and is now studying in a mission school to prepare himself for the Christian ministry.

The training in these mission boarding-schools includes elementary, secondary, and many special courses. One school is planning to extend its course to include a full college training. At present the girls are taught cooking, sewing, music, and various household arts in addition to the regular elementary and secondary courses offered. At Holding Institute, Laredo, Texas, one of the most popular departments, both among the girls and the boys, is the business department, where stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping and other related branches are taught. Several schools are located on large farms; the Texas-Mexican Institute at Kingsville, Texas, has 700 acres and the boys spend half a day in the schoolroom and half a day at work on the farm; the Rio Grande Institute at Albuquerque, also on a large well-equipped farm, furnishes similar opportunities for various kinds of farm training.

Many schools have wood-working or other manual training. At the Spanish-American Institute for boys at Gardena, California, one of the popular departments is the printing department. This fine, well-equipped department not only trains skilled printers but it incidentally does all of the school printing and handles a large volume of outside work. As one of its activities it publishes every two weeks a paper entitled "The Mexican Boy." The writing, editing, typesetting, and printing of this paper are done by the boys themselves as a part of their training. The Lydia Patterson Institute in El Paso is planning to add to its present excellent course a printing department, tailor shop, carpenter shop, shoe shop, and an auto shop. These are only illustrations of the varied training which these mission schools are rendering and are projecting for the future.

The boarding-school seems to offer an unusually good opportunity for non-English-speaking pupils to get that personal contact with their teachers which seems to be almost indispensable to satisfactory progress. Graduates and former pupils of these schools are everywhere giving a good account of themselves; some have gone on to college and then to professional schools of different sorts; and they have filled every sort of position from that of state legislator to sheep herder. Some are ministers, some are Y. M. C. A. secretaries, some are in business, many are teachers, and many have gone out to establish Christian, American homes after years of living in the environment of a Christian boarding-school. In some sections of New Mexico a large proportion of the public school teachers have been trained entirely or in part in mission schools. Thus in many ways the mission schools for Mexicans in the Southwest are exerting an Ameri-

canizing and a Christianizing influence quite out of proportion to the actual numbers enrolled in the schools.

The following is the first composition in English written by a little Mexican girl in a mission school, after she had mastered the language enough to begin to write in it:

### A MEXICAN GIRL'S COMPOSITION

"One apon time live a boy, has (his) name were Frank. He Askt has mother for nice party on Holloheen night. Mother sed all right if you be good boy. It was Holloheen night in the little house and it looked so perty with somany flags and punkens and paper turkeys.

"The Yacalentars (Jack-o-Lanterns) were all lighted bright and many friends come to Frank's house and his mother made a many pis and cakes. When friends come they smelled chile cooking and said, 'What a perty smell.'

"In the center of little house they had picnic with a table of punkens and cranberres and somany kinds of fruit and pi. Frank received a big package and he got so happy and then he say 'Everbodie get round me' and then everbodie looked in package. Everbodie beginning to laughed. There was a big bone and a dead rat.

"Frank say 'Everbodie danse.' He gets his girl to piano. Mother pulled his ears and hit him so hart and made a ball (bump) on his head an everbodie got scare. Mother say 'I tole you I don wan see you dansing.' Party stop and all say good nite."

In contrast to the foregoing and illustrative of the progress both in the use of English and in the inculcation of lofty ideals and patriotic sentiments which takes place in the mission schools is the following essay written by a Spanish-American boy about to graduate from the high school department of the Menaul School in Albuquerque:

PATRIOTISM

"Patriotism is love of country. It is that sentiment which enables us to study, deeply interested, our country's past, with intentions of learning what it stands for. It is this sentiment which makes great statesmen out of mere men, men who sacrifice everything for their country. It leads us to watch the progress of our country, do all in our power to insure and nothing to prevent it. A real patriot watches the program of his country and sees himself an actor taking an important rôle in it. He is a man who looks to his duty before his rights.

"To what do we attribute the success with which our army was organized during the world war? Why is it that labor and capital both forgot their troubles? Was it not a crime punishable by imprisonment to spread propaganda of any sort against our government? What was it that brought our soldiers to regard each other as brothers regardless of nationality? We were big enough then to overlook petty questions. All was done to secure our success as a nation. 'Unity, team-work,' we said, 'will bring about the victory of our armies.' We had rights as we have now, but duty came first; rights were ignored.

"Certainly America has been the melting pot of the world. But in this pot, no one will doubt, there is a residue which needs a higher temperature to melt it. Not so much legislation as warm American hearts. We have been cold to the foreigner. We must be interested in him if we are to make him a true American citizen. These people have acquired very different habits of living, consequently it is hard for them to break away suddenly from these habits. It is only by realizing that they are really our brothers that they can come to learn our language and, in turn, our customs.

"This war did away, in a great measure, with both class

and race distinction, but it also made the foreigner proud. He learned that he could do work equal to any man's, that he could fight as well as others. No wonder that we do not find him as submissive as before. The hyphenated American is to blame for not making himself thoroughly American, as is the so-called American for not giving him a better chance. Neither is willing to make any sacrifice for the good of the country. It was an extreme sense of patriotism which made us love our brothers. It was all to insure our country against any possibility of its working power being reduced. But where is this love of country gone? Why not give as much of our energy to insure the progress of our country now as we did during the war? Why not be as great a civilian nation as we were a soldier nation?

"We have a patriotism that is extremely beneficial to a country and another that ought never to exist. There are people who leave their mother country for one reason or another. They see some advantage in the country to which they go. But when they get there they do not swear allegiance from their hearts to that country which offers them better opportunities. This kind of ore coming into our melting pot is absolutely out of place in our country. We say nothing against this patriotism, but if we must love our mother country wherever we are the best thing to do is to stay there and cause no trouble elsewhere by a too deeply rooted patriotism. If Greek, Italian, French or Mexican comes here and remains so our pot has no power over them. We shall have to cast them away as worthless slag.

"It has been proven that patriotism makes us act as a body, brings us to see our relations to each other. Then why not bring this sentiment back into our hearts and keep it forever there? It is the keynote to national and individual prosperity."

The foregoing may have some defects as an essay, but as an expression of pure Americanism and as an illustration of the contribution which mission schools are making to the lives of thousands of our Spanish-speaking boys and girls in the Southwest it is pertinent.

The educational task among Mexicans and Spanish-Americans in the United States is not, however, limited to the period of childhood and youth. We face the problem of dealing with hundreds of thousands of adults who do not speak the English language and who do not understand our customs and our forms of government. A recent study of 1,081 Mexican families in the Plaza section of Los Angeles revealed the fact that fifty-five per cent of the men and seventy-four per cent of the women could not speak English; sixty-seven per cent of the men and eighty-four per cent of the women could not read English; and seventy-five per cent of the men and eighty-five per cent of the women could not write English. Of the families studied, more than sixty per cent had been in Los Angeles more than three years; fifteen per cent had been in the City less than a year. The excellent work done by the public schools and other agencies of Los Angeles makes it seem likely that the situation here, so far as illiteracy is concerned, is better than in many other centers.

Up to date no very great progress has been made in the teaching of English to adults of Mexican origin. A number of churches have maintained, and are maintaining, English classes for adults. The Goodwill Industries of Southern California teaches English to its employees. The Y. W. C. A., at its International Institutes, has enrolled some hundreds of adults in English classes, and the pupils have included representatives from some of

the more prosperous Spanish-speaking homes in the United States. Various other social agencies have done more or less of this work. The total of all adults included in English classes has, relatively speaking, been small. Most adults have been left to pick up the English language in connection with their regular employment, and, when this does not provide the opportunity to learn English, the opportunity has not been provided. In the case of the women the opportunity has very naturally been much less than in the case of the men, and this has been unfortunate for a number of reasons. For example, in cities where unprecedentedly high wages are being offered for housework Mexican women are unable to qualify for the positions offered because they are not familiar with American ways of housekeeping and because their language limitations will not permit them to ask questions or to receive instructions from their would-be employers.

The language question is such a large and important one that it is to be doubted whether adequate progress will be made in handling it until it is taken up systematically by some state or national agency. On the other hand, there is a real embarrassment on the part of certain Mexican young people in the United States, because of the limited facilities offered for perfecting themselves in the use of Spanish and for training in Spanish literature. A considerable number of these Americanized young folks later become teachers of public schools in Mexico, and they must, in order to do this, perfect themselves in Spanish. Some schools on the Border, therefore, make much of the study of Spanish, and in some cases, particularly where a school is serving regularly an international constituency, all instruction is given both in English and in Spanish. Of course it may be argued that we are not

obligated to train teachers for schools in Old Mexico. On the other hand, it is to be doubted whether we could do any finer piece of service for Mexico than to do just that thing. A generation of teachers trained in American schools and inculcated with American ideals would not only do much for Mexico, but it would provide a surer and cheaper protection for the United States than armies and navies can ever furnish.

In many informal ways educational work is extended among Mexicans in the United States. Through mothers' clubs many sorts of instruction are given, such as instruction in the care of babies, the preparation of food, the care of the home and similar subjects. For the young people there is a limited number of literary clubs, debating societies, branch libraries, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Boy Indians, sewing classes, business classes, wood-working classes, basket ball teams, kindergartens, day nurseries, baseball clubs and numerous similar organizations and activities carried on in connection with various churches, social centers, and other organizations.

The total amount of educational work which is being done for and with our Spanish-speaking people is very large, and there is every reason for encouragement not only from the fact that for the most part educational opportunities are eagerly grasped after, but also because the Mexican has demonstrated the fact, beyond peradventure of disproval, that with adequate nourishment and under a favorable environment he has the ability to profit to the utmost from the very best educational opportunities which we can give him. And the very fact that mission schools charging tuition on the Border are filled to overflowing and are turning away hundreds of applicants every year for lack of room to accommodate them is but one of many

circumstances which indicate the eagerness of both parents and children for the very best which we have to offer. Incidentally, in this connection, it would seem to be significant that in one boarding-school for Mexican pupils a set of "The Book of Knowledge" placed in the library of the school was almost worn out from constant use the first year.

## CHAPTER VI

### A FORWARD LOOK

"WILL they all go back to Mexico as soon as conditions become settled there?"

This question has been asked again and again, and is still being asked. What will happen when the Mexicans on the Border become reasonably assured that conditions in Mexico have become stabilized, that their lives and property will be safe back in the homeland, and that economic conditions have sufficiently improved to warrant the establishment of a home there.

So many unexpected things have happened in the days that have passed that no one but a prophet would be justified in making an authentic statement on this interesting point. Nevertheless, I venture the prediction that the last decade has ushered in for us an entirely new permanent situation so far as the Mexican in the United States is concerned. Many Mexicans will, of course, return to Mexico, but it is also to be expected that many other Mexicans will come to the United States. The stream which has been flowing so freely in the recent past has worn too smooth a channel to be suddenly checked unless very radical measures are taken to check it. Under present conditions the Mexican is eagerly welcomed in this country. Never did so many Mexicans have relatives and friends in the United States; never did they know so much about the United States as now, and it is perhaps

fair to believe that never before did they have such a wholesome respect for our country and her institutions. Our Committee on Public Information is said to have done an extremely important piece of work in Mexico during the War, and the Mexican people not only came to understand what the War was all about, but they also learned many things about the United States which they had never before known.

In order to understand just what may be expected to happen if conditions continue to improve in Mexico, we should remind ourselves just who these people are who are at present in our midst. Some of them are political refugees who have no idea of staying permanently in the United States. As soon as they are assured of personal amnesty they will return to Mexico to look after their financial and other interests there. Even some of these political refugees have, during their period of waiting, engaged in business in this country and formed so many connections here that, although they may return to Mexico for a time or many times, the United States will be the scene of most of their future activities. Then there are the contract laborers who have been admitted under special arrangement and who, by the very terms of their admission, are supposed to be returned at the close of their period of employment. The largest part of the recent immigration, however, is made up of poor Mexicans who during the long period of revolution and banditry in Mexico have come to the United States in order to find a place where their existence would be to some extent more tolerable. Some have said that they have suffered worse in America than they did in Mexico, but for the most part they have found remunerative employment at wages many times those which they were receiv-

ing in Mexico, and they have found advantages for their children which are far superior to those which they were enjoying in Mexico. It is fair to assume that those who are established in the new land will think twice, or thrice, before they pack up and return to the uncertainties of Mexico. For those who have been admitted through the regular ports of entry there is always the danger that, should they again be dissatisfied with Mexico and desire to return to the United States, the stricter immigration regulations would prevent them from coming again to this country, and, for those who have come across the line without troubling to pass through a regular port of entry, there is the same danger. Then, too, enough Mexicans have come to the United States, so that none need to be lonely for the companionship of his fellow countrymen who can speak his language. Some one has pointed out that one out of ten of the Mexicans is already in the United States, and this is not far from the truth, if we include also the Spanish-Americans here. In other words, there never was greater reason for the Mexican to be content in the United States, and there are still many good reasons why he should hesitate to return to Mexico.

So far as the boys and girls who have been born and are being born in the United States and who are growing up, attending the public schools, and forming their early attachments here, there is no apppeal from Mexico as the homeland, since they are native sons and have their associations and their interests here. Many of these boys and girls would sooner or later return to the United States even if their parents should take them back to Mexico meantime. This fact alone would seem to make it certain that we have for all time to come materially increased our Mexican stock. Whether this will eventuate

to our advantage or not will be determined very largely by our wisdom and our tact in dealing with certain very important problems in the days ahead.

Nowhere in the United States is the problem of Americanization a more complex one than here. Our non-English-speaking immigrants from nearly every other country come to us across thousands of miles of ocean. On the contrary, in our Southwest tens of thousands of Mexican immigrants live literally within the proverbial "stone's throw" of their native land. They can see it each day if they care to do so, and it is always "just across the line." They may live and die in the United States, but yet Mexico is there, and with all her faults they love her still. It is not surprising that few Mexicans apply for American citizenship, for Mexico is always a tantalizing possibility. We have, therefore, thousands of Mexicans in the United States who have no desire to become Americans or to be "Americanized," and they never expect to be. As fair-minded Americans we can either eject them bodily from the country or we can endeavor to be decent to them while they remain with us. In many cases their children are destined to be loyal American citizens, and possibly we can afford to be patient with them, if they are not overly eager to learn the English language or to take on American ways.

For many years to come, if not permanently, the Border must be a place of two languages, and the more Americans who understand Spanish and the more Mexicans who understand English the better it will be for all concerned. There is no better way for two nations to understand each other than for them to understand each other's language. There is every reason why the educational institutions on the American side of the Border should

furnish every opportunity for English-speaking pupils to learn Spanish and for Spanish-speaking pupils to learn English, and Mexico in turn should provide similar opportunities on her side of the line. The matter is of sufficient importance to warrant some definite international understanding and method of procedure. In the meantime we should be patient and remind ourselves that "Americanization" which so often simmers down to the learning of the English language must, in many instances, in the very nature of the case move slowly.

It should be noted that we have been talking about Mexicans in the United States and not about Spanish-speaking American citizens. With this latter group there has been an excuse for their ignorance of English, but it is an excuse which cannot long remain valid, and vigorous measures should at once be taken to see to it that such educational steps are taken as will make it unnecessary for any commmunity in the United States, made up of native-born American citizens, to be dependent upon a foreign language for the transaction of its affairs or the carrying on of its social life.

The War has had its effect here, both upon the young men who went into the service and upon those who stayed at home, for a new patriotism was instilled, and the desire to learn the English language was quickened. How much this was needed is perhaps illustrated by the story told on good authority that native-born Spanish-speaking Americans claimed military exemption on the ground that they were not American citizens, and that this was done in all good faith and with no attempt to deceive. One of the by-products of the War, namely, the increased wages for common labor, has had a large and far-reaching effect upon Spanish-American towns of long standing. Some

have for this reason lost from ten to sixty or seventy per cent of their population. The assumption is that as most of these people go out to larger centers or mingle more actively in the life of to-day they will learn and come to use the English language. During the War Work Campaign the Y. M. C. A. did a valuable piece of Americanization work on the Border. This included, among other things, the distribution of $40,000 worth of Spanish pamphlets and other propaganda work.

Now that the centuries-old seclusion of our Spanish Southwest is being broken up, it is not to be expected that opinions and attitudes will remain in the same static condition as in the past. Nor is it to be expected that our Spanish-speaking friends will be immune from harmful propaganda. Already there has been much I. W. W. and radical socialistic agitation fomented by Spanish-speaking agitators. This propaganda has been both against the church and the state. Dr. Vernon M. McCombs of Los Angeles describes a "cross-eyed, Spanish-speaking agitator haranguing some 200 Mexicans from a broken chair in the Plaza." The following poem and pledge was widely distributed as a part of this propaganda:

CHURCHES AND BIBLES

By Harry Hermann

The church is a fiend,
The Bible a lie,
Though Jesus and God
Are extolled to the sky.

The preachers will tell us of God they are sent,
But their speech does betray that for money they went;
They talk of that beautiful home in the sky,
While they know of a truth they are telling a lie.

Food, clothing and shelter they're after . . . O, well!
So they jump to the pulpit and talk of that hell:
'Tis marvelous, indeed, how the dupes they do work,
While themselves from all useful employment they shirk.

The time has now come
For the preacher to shun,
Put God and his Jesus to hell on the run;
The infidels, atheists, agnostics are here
To proclaim the glad tidings, a message of cheer.

So to hell with the churches, the bibles and all,
'Tis nothing but graft, and bitter as gall;
If worship you must, then worship a God
Who will give you a living without being a fraud.

*Anti-Enlistment League*

I ....., being over eighteen years of age, hereby pledge myself against enlisting as a volunteer in any military or naval service in international war, offensive or defensive, and against giving my approval to any enlistment on the part of others.

City.....

State.....

Street.....

Date.....

The foregoing is a sample of the character and spirit of many tracts and cartoons which have been distributed broadcast among the Mexicans of the Southwest. The literature for this propaganda is not limited to tracts, however; many books are used, such as "Jesus Christ Never Existed," "Mary Magdalene, the Mistress of Jesus," "An Imaginary God, the Child of Fear," and others of like nature. How deeply the seeds of atheism and radical socialism have been implanted up to date it is

difficult to say. The work has gone far enough, however, to warrant the undertaking of aggressive steps to counteract such harmful agiation. It is significant that a member of the Mexican national legislature returned, after a trip throughout the Southwest among Mexicans, to report in Mexico City that "the United States is becoming I. W. W. and atheistic." It is also significant that in the Bisbee deportation some time ago one-third were of Mexicans. The ignorance of the Mexicans makes a fertile field for the planting of all sorts of corrupting ideas and nothing but a counter-attack along lines of education, and the implanting of the Christian principles of individual responsibility for and service to the group will protect them from this insidious propaganda which is continually beng spread among them. Incidentally it must be noted, however, that education must be accompanied by a rigorous application of the principles of social justice to our treatment of the Mexican. Churches and schools and ministers and social workers are already doing much to counteract these dangerous tendencies which are manifesting themselves among the Mexicans, and this is done, not only through the general influence of the work, but also by direct dealing with unsafe leaders and agitators. Many of the fine and educated Mexican pastors are in a position to render and are rendering a unique service of this character among their fellow-countrymen, a service which one of another race could hardly perform.

The fact that Mexican labor has been largely engaged in agricultural projects where decentralization is the order of the day may account to some extent for the fact that we have not had more labor disturbances than we have had. Just what the future has in store along this line will be for us to determine, either by our foresightedness,

or by our negligence and indifference. The Mexican in the United States is just finding himself. Some day he will be more conscious of his power and his importance than he is to-day. If we are discreet enough we shall see to it that these Mexicans in the United States are so fairly and decently treated that they will never have occasion to express their race consciousness or to act as a unit for the attainment of social justice. Up to date the Mexican has had many reasons for distrusting the disinterested motives of America and Americans, and these fears have been played upon by both priests and politicians. The mere fact that a Mexican has been forced to seek refuge in the United States does not of necessity imply that he has a very high regard for Americans. It is little short of amazing, however, to see how quickly this inbred distrust of America and Americans disappears before the sunlight of understanding, friendly sympathy, and kindly interest expressed by Americans who are eager to serve and to work with him rather than to exploit him.

So many aspects of the problem come back for their final solution to a question of the human elements involved that we are not likely to give the matter too much attention. If we insist upon assuming a mental and moral superiority to the Mexican, and upon looking at him as a convenient beast of burden, useful so long as he stays such, and undesirable as soon as he begins to elevate himself and his standard of living and to become our competitor in the various fields of activity which we like to look upon as distinctly the province of "Americans," then we are preparing for ourselves a problem for the future, the solution of which will be as long drawn out and as difficult as any we have ever faced. Nothing but the frank recognition of the Mexican on his own merits and

the determination to give him a chance to make of himself as a man all that he can make will help us to avoid catastrophe here. The Mexican in the United States in contrast to any other alien group here has at hand a nation fifteen million strong which will not permanently tolerate, in silence, insults and mistreatment. It is foolish to argue as to whether the Mexican is equal to or superior in ability to the Anglo-Saxon. That is quite beside the point, which is whether we are going to permit the Mexican to go as far along the pathway of achievement as his ability will permit him to go. If we accept him on this basis, we have no occasion to fear the future, but on any other basis there are indeed dangers ahead.

While legally the Mexican in the United States is a "white man" (and incidentally many of them are as white as Anglo-Saxons), and his children are admitted to the public schools, and he is permitted to purchase a ticket and ride on any train on which a white man can ride, yet there is a tendency in too many quarters to insist that "A Mexican is a Mexican." There is no disposition on the part of the present writer to deny that fact; he might even say with equal enthusiasm that "An American is an American." Nor is there any question about the fact that there are some very bad Mexicans and that probably the percentage of dishonest Mexicans and of poverty-stricken Mexicans is greater than the percentage of similar classes among Americans. But to any student of the situation this would seem to indicate, not that the Mexican is born with any particular moral deficiency, but rather that he has unfortunately been cursed with a political and a religious environment which has been largely responsible for making him what he is. On the other hand, I know Mexicans who are as cultured

and as thoroughly educated as the most fastidious American could desire for a friend; Mexicans who speak and read, not two languages alone, but three and four; Mexicans whose ideals of integrity and personal honor are on a par with the best Anglo-Saxon ideals; and Mexicans whose charming manners and sensitive natures make of them delightful companions and ornaments for any drawing-room. For an American to snub a Mexican because of his birth is for him to reveal his own provincialism and to cast a blot upon the fair name of America. Mr. S. G. Inman, in "Intervention in Mexico," tells of an American coming to the end of a trip as a guest of Mexican officials and business men in Mexico during which he, with other Americans, had been shown something of the marvelous resources of Mexico, and had been entertained by some of the most cultured and most prosperous people in Mexico and in a style of which Americans need not have been ashamed, remarking in the presence of Mexicans, and even before he had crossed the international line, "There are two things I could never understand, why the Lord made mosquitoes and Mexicans." Such an exhibition of incivility, discourtesy, and absolute foolishness is not only un-American, but it is also un-Mexican, for even the humblest Mexican can teach us many things about the art of politeness. The incident, however, is more than an isolated incident, it is but an illustration of an attitude of assumed superiority of one race over another, and an attitude which can only bring disaster in our dealings with the Mexican, if we persist in it or permit the unthinking element of our population to give frequent expression to it.

Fortunately there is every reason to believe that the conditions which make for a continuance of this attitude

are rapidly passing away. There is a steadily growing respect for America and Americans on the part of Mexico, and there is a similarly enhanced respect for Mexico and Mexicans being developed among Americans. Whatever President Obregon may have said or thought about Americans in the past, his regard for them has been steadily increasing as he has come to know them better. He frankly recognizes the large part which American capital has played and must continue to play in the development of Mexico; he has declared that the foreign debts of the Mexican republic will be paid; and he has very plainly declared his conviction that friendship with the United States is not only essential to Mexican progress, but that it will be the aim of his government to promote such friendship. All of this augurs well, not only for the future relationships of the two governments concerned, but also for the future relationships of the two races concerned.

As these words are being written word comes that in line with the previous declaration of the Obregon government to establish a "dry zone" on the Border one of the very worst resorts there, namely, the "Owl," at Mexicali has been closed by order of the new government in Lower California. If a similar policy is followed along the entire Border, one of the greatest occasions of misjudgment of each other may be done away, for it was here on the international line where the very worst elements of Mexico and the United States met and where respect for each other was lost in the free reign of vice. If we can now supplement this very necessary and desirable negative program with a positive program which will supply wholesome interests and activities for those which have long been so extremely unwholesome, we may as a

nation breathe a freer and purer atmosphere in the future than we have in the past along our extended southern Border.

It is apparent long before this that, try as we will to limit our attention to those phases of the Mexican question which lie north of the international line, we continually find ourselves dipping down into Old Mexico herself. It is suggestive of the fundamentally artificial character of our political demarcations and of the insistence of human nature in disregarding them. We can as little permanently confine people and social problems within political areas as we can control water with a basket; they will not stay "put." Mexico's problems and Mexico's achievements become ours by the very law of propinquity, and the rapidity and extent of our progress is to a very considerable extent conditioned by hers. We have more than a mere neighborly interest, therefore, in Mexico's progress educationally, socially, and economically. We are man and wife by common law marriage, and no international divorce court can ever issue a decree which will separate our interests.

Not only should we understand each other's language, but we should also understand each other's history, traditions, and customs. Many who cannot learn another language or who would have little occasion to use it can at least take pains to be informed about these neighbors who are not destined to move soon out of the neighborhood. A little study of the historical background for the situation to be found in the Southwest will not only put us into a more intelligent touch with the Mexicans themselves, but it will also give us a more sympathetic understanding of our own Spanish-American fellow citizens. For many who are removed from personal contact

with these people, an understanding of the situation and a loyal support of the agencies dealing with them is perhaps all that can be expected; for those who live in intimate contact with it duty does not end there. The whole nation has a right to expect that every true American who has dealings with an individual of Mexican origin shall maintain an attitude of friendliness and respect toward him, and treat him with all the fairness and the justice which he would accord to one of another race. To do less is not only to bring reproach upon America but to lay up for all of us serious complications for the future.

We have a difficult task to perform; it is the ever complicated one of endeavoring to help a people who are in need without doing them more harm than good, without pauperizing them as we try to assist them. Both the Mexican in the United States and the Spanish-American have needs deep and far-reaching which we must from all the motives of altruism and self-interest help to meet. These needs are physical, economic, intellectual, moral, and spiritual. We cannot refuse to meet them without great danger to ourselves. The Mexican in our national life has become too numerous to ignore; he is too important a factor in our life to forget; but as we assist him to take his place as an integral part of our body politic, and not as an alien adjunct thereto, we must endeavor to master the fine art of working *with* and not so exclusively *for* him as we have in the past. In the accomplishment of this task we ought to be able to call into play the best efforts of some of the best educated, most cultured, and wealthiest Mexicans in our midst. If they have not been accustomed to engage in altruistic tasks, they ought to be trained to do so. At present there

is too great a gulf fixed between the more fortunate and the poorer Mexican in the United States. There seems to be no medium through which the one can help the other. We have been so impressed at times with the needs of the poorer Mexican that we have not only ignored the needs of the more prosperous, but we have also failed to bring the resources of the one to the help of the other to their mutual advantage.

A gentleman of Mexican extraction has suggested in this connection that we need in important centers more "Mexican Centers," institutions which will furnish a meeting place for people of Mexican extraction, not a social settlement for the poor and in which a more fortunate Mexican would hesitate to be seen, but centers so conducted as to bring no social reproach upon those who enter their walls but rather to serve as the nucleus of the Mexican life of the community and of an educational and social program which will interest and minister to groups of many sorts. Something of this sort has already been achieved in certain centers opened by the Y. W. C. A., the Y. M. C. A., certain churches, and other agencies; but only a beginning has been made, and we are still in the class of learners.

Of course there is no one solution to a problem so large, so diversified, and so complex. It will require the best efforts of all of us applied in many ways and through many channels. The essential thing is for us to recognize that the Mexican is with us to stay, that our future is inextricably bound up with his, as with no other alien race, that we must live together whether we will or no, and, most important of all, that the Mexican is a *man* with fine, sensitive qualities of nature and with capabilities which are destined to lead him, no one knows how far,

along the path of progress. He is a factor to be reckoned with, but to be reckoned with gladly, for he comes bringing gifts; and his already large and steadily increasing contribution to our life is helping to make America a better place in which to live and a far more interesting abode because of the rich and diversified endowments which he brings with him.

Our great Southwest, destined to be the chief amphitheater of the Mex-American life in our country, is already an empire in itself, but its marvelous resources have only begun to be exploited. Within the last decade hundreds of thousands of acres of what was once supposed to be permanent desert have been transformed into veritable garden spots, and millions of dollars worth of products are being produced where nothing but cactus and sagebrush had ever grown before. Dams have been built, irrigation projects opened, and electric power plants erected. Great pumping outfits have been established, and these are increasing as the water power is more thoroughly harnessed, so that land which could not otherwise be watered may have water pumped for its use. Thus everywhere the thirsty desert is being transformed and the Mexican is making this transformation possible. He does not limit his activities to the surface of the ground, however, for he is a natural miner, and he may be found underground or digging into the side of a mountain to release the hidden coal, gold, silver, copper, and other minerals with which the hills of the Southwest are stored.

We have heard a great deal in recent years about "city planning." Once people let their cities grow up as chance might dictate, and then one day they woke to the folly of such a procedure. Why not plan the city in advance, and thus direct the lines of its growth so that

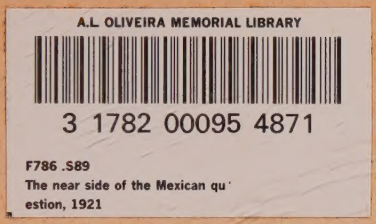
the final result might be more pleasing to the eye and more worthy of the people to whom it belonged? To-day we are as a nation building a great empire in our Southwest, and we are building it, to a large extent, out of stones quarried from the human quarries of Old Mexico. Up to date we have moved ahead without much plan and with slight vision of what the final result might chance to be. Is it not time that we should begin to consider with care what we are building in order that the product of the formative years just ahead may be pleasing to behold and may be worthy of a great nation established upon principles of justice, enlightenment, and human brotherhood?

Among those who have been wise enough to see and plan for the future is the Mormon Church. In the very center of the Southwest in the Salt River Valley of Arizona which has risen almost overnight from the wilderness and clothed itself with verdure of remarkable beauty and economic value, the Mormons have quietly established themselves on thousands of acres of the most productive soil. They have reared their neat chapels, and now they have projected a Mormon Temple to cost at least $600,000. This will make the Salt River Valley the great Mormon center of the Southwest, and from it will go out scores of missionaries to work among Mexicans both above and below the Border. Already many adherents of Mormonism are reported in Old Mexico, in Sonora, Chihuahua, and other states, and a recent report indicates thirty-seven Spanish-speaking Mormon missionaries in the four states of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado. It is reported that a considerable number of Mexican converts to Mormonism in the United States have already been baptized.

It is for the people of America to determine whether the ideals of Mormonism, of the I. W. W., of radical socialism, of atheism, and infidelity, or of the very best that America has to offer are to dominate the Southwest which is to-day in the making. Possibly nowhere else has America an opportunity, at the moment, to do a finer, more constructive and more rewarding bit of national prophylaxis than here.

*A word to the wise is sufficient.*

THE END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